

PORTRAITS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

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PORTRAITS
OF
Illustrious Personages
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM
AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF
HIS MAJESTY,
THE NOBILITY, AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY
EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

Nos. XIII. to XVIII.

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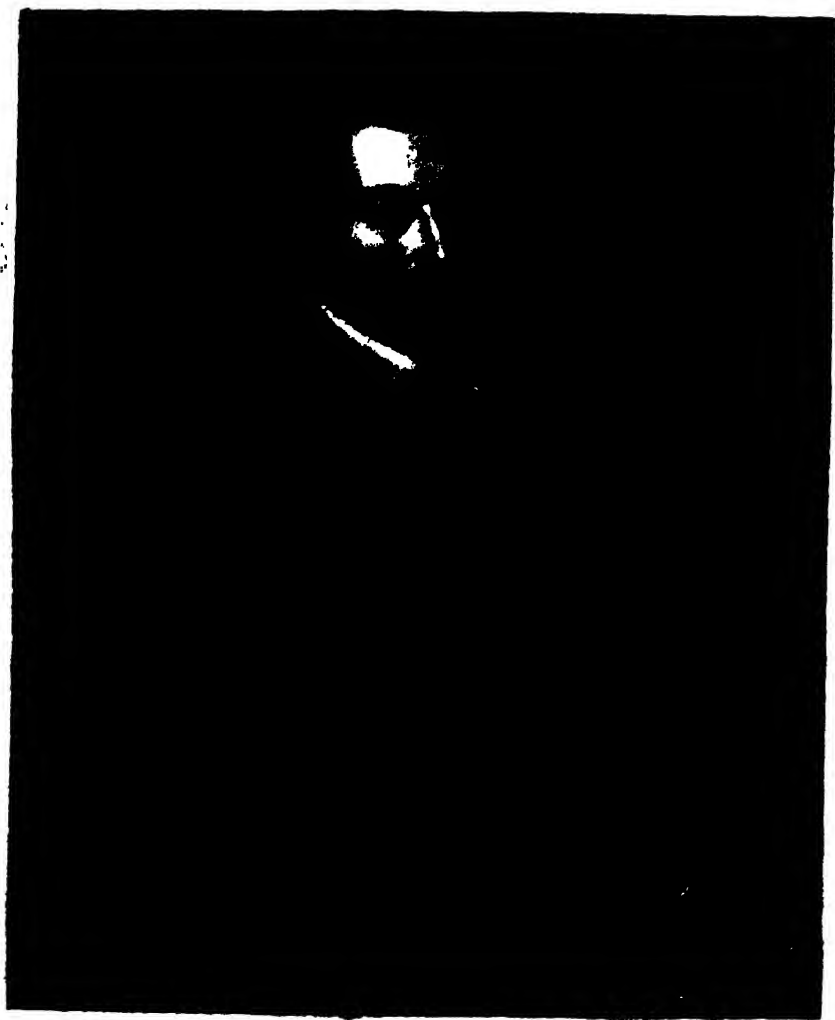
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SIR THOMAS BODLEY

OB 1612

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CORNELIUS JANSSEN IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD

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IT is a proud reflection for the lovers of literature that the name of this eminent person should scarcely be known but as that of one of its most zealous cultivators—that Europe should ring, as it ever will, with the fame of that prodigious treasure which it owes to his learning, his diligence, and his munificence, and that it should be nearly forgotten, even in his own country, that he was any otherwise distinguished. Such is the triumph of immutable principle over fleeting habit; of wisdom over cunning; of the judgment over the passions. In our admiration of the retired collector of a library, we have ceased to remember that his counsels once guided the decisions of sovereigns, and poised the fate of nations. Sir Thomas Bodley was a statesman of the first order, in merit, if not in place; and it will therefore be the object of these pages rather to recall to memory the circumstances of his political life, than to recapitulate minutely the history of that immortal foundation which is already so closely connected with his very name, that while we remember the one, we cannot forget the other.

He was descended from a respectable family, though of no great antiquity, in Devonshire, and was the eldest of the three sons of John Bodley, of Exeter, in which city he was born on the second of March, 1544, by Joan, daughter of Robert Hone, of Ottery St. Mary, in the same county. The persecution under Queen Mary compelled his father, who was a zealous reformer, to seek refuge in a foreign country; and, after some wandering, he settled his family, about the year 1556, at Geneva, and in the University then newly established there his son Thomas commenced his education under teachers of the highest eminence. In some short notes of his life, written by himself, which, together with a few other matters

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relative to him, were published in 1703, in an octavo volume, now rather scarce, by the antiquary Thomas Hearne, under the title of "*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*," he informs us that he was taught Hebrew by Chevalier, and Greek by Beroald and Constantine; and, in particular, that he studied divinity under Calvin and Beza. He returned to England immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, full of learning, and of affection for the Protestant persuasion, and became a student of Magdalen College, in Oxford, where, in 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became probationer of Merton College, of which house in the ensuing year he was admitted fellow. In 1565 he read a Greek lecture in the hall of that College; in 1566, obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and read the lecture on natural philosophy in the Schools: and in 1569 was elected one of the Proctors, and undertook the office of University Orator, which he exercised for several years. He remained at Oxford till 1576, when he set out to visit the continent. Thus the first eighteen years of Bodley's manhood were purely academical, and hence that latent affection and gratitude to the university, conceived in the warmth of youth, and matured by the reflection of riper age, which burst forth with renewed vigour towards the conclusion of his life. That those sentiments were for a while suspended is evident from his own account; "In 1576," says he, "I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the service of the State." He passed nearly four years in a slow and inquisitive journey through France, Germany, and Italy, and returned to his college to connect and systematize his observations by reading the best authors on History and Politics. In 1583 he was introduced; we know not by what means, at the Court, and was appointed a Gentleman Usher, or, according to Antony Wood, an Esquire of the Body, to Queen Elizabeth: He soon after married Anne, daughter of a Mr. Carey, of Bristol, and the rich widow,

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says the author just now mentioned, for we have it only on his authority, of some person of the name of Ball.

It was Elizabeth's habit to seek for political ability through all ranks of her servants, and to try their talents and their fidelity in minor embassies. Bodley attracted her notice, and she dispatched him in 1586 on a circular mission to Frederic King of Denmark, and to the German Princes of the Protestant persuasion, to urge them to aid her endeavours in favour of the French Huguenots, then headed by the great Henry King of Navarre. He acquitted himself in this employment so much to her satisfaction, that she appointed him, immediately after his return, to another, not only of a nature almost wholly different, but which required a far greater measure of dexterity and delicacy. Henry the Third of France, the declared patron of the Papal interest in his realm, had been driven from his capital by that memorable party led by the Duke of Guise, which had named itself the Holy League, and which, with the usual detestable affectation of faction, had professed to unite for his defence and protection in that character. To him was Bodley sent with such extreme caution and secrecy, that he was not permitted, as he informs us, to take with him even a single servant, nor any other letters than such as were written by the Queen's own hand. "The effect," says he, "of that message it is fit that I should conceal; but it tended greatly to the advantage of all the Protestants in France, and to the Duke's overthrow, which also followed soon upon it."

Elizabeth, having thus proved his worth, nominated him, in 1588, her resident minister at the Hague, a station then at the head of English diplomacy, the United Provinces being, from well-known historical circumstances, the theatre on which the political combat between her, and her great rival Philip of Spain, might be fought with the best prospect of success. In order to preserve her ascendancy there he was admitted, according to a stipulation insisted on by Elizabeth before his departure, a member of their Council of State, in the sittings of which he placed himself, by her

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order, next to Count Maurice of Nassau. He enjoyed in this mission her perfect confidence. "After the Queen," says he, "had had some experience of my conduct there, from that time forward I did never almost receive any set instructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me, and my discretion." Of the zeal, as well as the wisdom, with which he managed those affairs, we have a noble instance in a letter in the Harleian Collection (No. 278, p. 190,) hitherto unpublished, the great length of which obliges me, though with much reluctance, to content myself with giving a few extracts from it. It is indorsed by himself, "Project of a Letter which I proposed to send to the Emperor's Ambassadors; Nov. 1591," and affords perhaps the finest example extant of the frank and masculine spirit which then guided the policy of England, not to mention the very singular coincidence of the public circumstances to which it alludes with those of the time in which we have the misfortune to live.

"Having lately understood," he begins, "as well by those letters which yow have written to the States, and to your friendes in these contries, as by divers other meanes of assured intelligence, that yow determine very shortly to addresse yourselves to the forsaide States, and in the name of the Emperor's Majestie to motion some agreement between them and the Spaniard, I have thought it very requisit, for discharge of my dewtie to my Sovereign Lady and Mistresse, the Queene's Majestie of England, who hath bin pleased to honour me with the place of her counsaillor in this Counsaile of State, and for those principal respects which I beare, in all humilitie, to the Emperor's Majestie, between whom and my Sovereigne all offices of amitie have bin alwaies intertened, to prevent your coming hither with such advice as this place, and my fonction, will afford." He proceeds to remind the Austrian Ambassadors that the States, ten months before, had addressed to the Emperor, and to other Princes of the Germanic body, their earnest protest against such mediation: and then informs them that in the articles

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between Elizabeth and the States, "it is a special point agreed that neither the general nor particular States of those provinces shall enter into treatie with the common enemy, the Spaniard, nor with any Prince or Potentat in his behalf, without the privitie or consent of the Queene's Majestie of England;" and that such article, above all others, was recommended most precisely to the charge of all Elizabeth's ministers, military as well as civil, in the United States, and most effectually set down in their oaths. That the States themselves undoubtedly entertained the same opinion and resolution. "Nevertheles," adds he, "as if we knewe not that intention of the forsaide States, we are thus much of ourselves to signifie from hens: That unless yow come autorised to this treaty of peace with the allowance and warrant of the Queen our mistresse, we must, all in generall, and every one in particular stand against yow, not only with good arguments of reason and persuasion, but with all the meanes that we can make, by any violence or force, to disturbe your attempts, and that without attending or expecting what the contrey shall resolve." After some apology for the sternness of this declaration, he proceeds to give his reasons why the States cannot hearken to any proposals for peace with Spain. "First, they say it is certaine, whatever is averred by others to the contrary, that the King of Spaine's disposition is wholly opposit to peace; and this is proved apparently by a common observation which is in every man's discourse—that there is noe warre at this day in any part of Christendome but is directly or indirectly, sturred and maintained by the King of Spaine. What example can be plainer than his present partaking in the kingdome of France? Where, without a just reason, he pretext of just occasion, he endevoureth to depose the right owner from his scepter, and all under collar of rele and divotion to the Romishe religion. And, if that be all his cause, as his pretence is no other, would the Emperor's Majestie have this people to imagine that the King of Spaine can be pleased to permitte unto them over whom he clameth a right, and absolut authoritie, the use of

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that religion for the extirpation whereof he poursueth a forraine Prince with all the actes of hostilitie that he can possibly practise. His purpose is too manifest: He mindes to make holyday with the States of these contreis till his maters in France succede to his minde, and then his hope is undoubtedlie that not onely these Provinces united, but England, and Scotland, and every part of Germany, or of any other contrey that is different from him in religion, or disjoined by faction, shall accept of such lawes as he, for his benefit shall prescribe unto them."

Having stated much at large the repeated breaches of treaty, and the various deceptions practised by the King of Spain towards the United Provinces, he goes on—"But, besides the examples among themselves, they saw the other day in his dealing with England a most palpable patterne of Spanish falsehood and deceate: For, even then, and at the same instant that his ministers were employed to persuade her Majestie to a peace, by proposing unto her verie plausible conditions, he armed a navy to the seas which, in his Lucifer's pride, he termed "Invincible," to make a conquest of her kingdome. But howe that wickednes was punished by the mightie hand of God it is knowen 'ere this to all the worlde, and it will be recorded to all posteritie. In effect," adds Bodley, after having cited other instances of treachery, "all his actions are directed by that most unchristian and barbarous maxime, that with an hereticke there is no faith to be observed; which infamous point of doctrine was most wickedly devised by the Pope, and Popish Princes, to serve their worldly turnes; distrusting, as it seemeth, the truth of their owne religion; as if God were not able (their cause being just, as they are persuaded, and their party being greater by many multitudes of people,) to uphold their estate without the breache of common faith. But if this be so maintained against hereticke in general, what application will be made, by the King, and his fayouers, against the hereticke of this contrey which have taken armes against him, have renounced his religion, solemnly deposed him by way of abjuration, and deli-

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vered unto others the possession of his landes?" This very memorable letter concludes with the following expressions:—" Unless yow shewe for your comming the liking and permission of her Majestie, my Sovereigne, I must needes forewarne yow, as before, that as many of us as are heere of her Majestie's subjects doe resolve to withstand yow, as perturburs of the amitie betweene her and the contrey; and, in that respect, every man, in his charge, will accomplishe the duties of his faith and obedience by forcing yow from hens: and, though I speake in this sorte very plainly and roundly, being bounde thereto by mine othe and allegiance, yet I rest out of doubt that your singular wisdomes will expounde my meaning to the best; and, being so well preadvertised of the strict alliance and contract between her Majestie and these contreis, will forbear upon it to goe forward with your voiage intended. But if it so fall out in truth, as in semblance is pretended, that the Kinge of Spaine, either weries with his warres, or reduced to extremity, or finding in continuance that God doth not prosper his dissembled proceeding, shall be willing now at length to speake as he thinketh, and to stipulate a firme and durable peace, there is no other meanes to effect his purpose but by causing the like proffers of peace as are made to these provinces to be presented in like sorte to her Majestie of England, to the King in France, and to as many other Princes as sitte complaininge at the helme of the common cause, and runne in danger to be drowned in the bottomlesse gulph of the Spanish ambition. To this there is no doubt but the Kinge will condescend, if his minde and meaning be cleere and upright; and this is it which her Majesty, my sovereigne, the States of these contreis, and every forraigne Potentat, will most willingly helpe forward with all the meanes of assistaunce that they can minister unto him."

In this important station Bodley remained for nine years, making some occasional visits to his Court, in one of which, in 1605, he highly offended Elizabeth by some proposals which he brought from the States relative to their debts to her. "I hear," says he,

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in one of his several letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, preserved in Dr. Birch's Memoirs, "for my comfort, that the Queen, on Monday last, did at the Court wish I had been hanged." He returned however soon after to the Hague, from whence he was not finally recalled, and then at his own earnest request, till 1597. He never held any other public employment. It was his misfortune, according to his own account, to be equally regarded both by Burghley and Essex, each of whom had frequently recommended him with much earnestness to Elizabeth for the place of Secretary of State, his appointment to which, through jealousy, was always thwarted by the other. Perhaps Elizabeth's dread of strengthening the party of Essex, who certainly was his warmest friend, was yet a stronger impediment. Be this as it may, he determined to retire from public life, and though frequently solicited by her, and by her successor, to accept of high and important offices in the State, abided by his resolution.

He had undoubtedly long entertained the noble design of restoring, or rather founding, the public library at Oxford, for he had scarcely found himself at home when he began to collect books for it with such zeal and avidity that, even before the end of that year, he had amassed a great treasure of general literature, and had formally communicated his intention to the University. Sensible, however, that the life, as well as the wealth, of any individual must fall far short of the accomplishment of the plan he had laid, he spared no pains in invoking the aid of the rich and the learned, and obtained vast contributions in money as well as in books. Many amusing instances of his anxieties, his doubts, his disappointments, and even his jealousies, with regard to these benefactions, may be found in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, in a long series of his letters to Dr. William James, who was his chief agent in the collection, and the first person who had the office of keeper of the library after its final establishment. We meet in one of them with a curious proof of blameable vanity. Bodley was solicitous to conceal the assistance which he received from others, and thus

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betrays that disposition which he awkwardly labours to dissemble —“ I am utterly against it that there should be any mention of their names and gifts that are the chiefest contributors to the library, for that few in that case would be willingly omitted, and the gift of the greatest is hardly worth publishing as a matter of much moment : besides that the number increaseth continually, and, as I am persuaded, when those that are to come after shall see no likelihood of occasion to be honoured, as the former, by some public monument, it may slacken their devotion. And, as for myself, I am wholly uncertain how far I shall proceed in my expence about that work, having hitherto made no determinate design, but purposing to do as my ability shall afford, which may increase or diminish, and as God shall spare my life, although unto myself I do resolve in a general project to do more than I am willing to publish to the world. It may suffice, in my conceit, if the party employed in the answer to Weston shall but signify, in general, to what forwardness that work of so great a public benefit is already brought by my means, in special, and then by the aid of such of my honourable friends, and others, as in affection to me, and for the advancement of learning, have been moved to set their helping hand to it ; so as in time it is like, and perhaps very shortly, to be a most admirable ornament as well of the State as of the University ; to the effecting whereof though so many men concur, yet the plotting and ordering of all things, and the bulk of all the burthen, for matter of cost, and otherwise, both hath and will be mine ; wherein, as I will not assume the deserts to myself of other men's bounties, so I would not that mine own, in a public memorial, should be lessened.”

Even before the end of the year 1599 the Bodleian Library had become, with the exception of the Vatican, perhaps the first public collection in Europe, and very soon after stood wholly unrivalled. James I., who really loved literature, gave a warrant under the Privy-seal to the founder for such books as he might choose to take from any of the Royal libraries, and the fashion set by the

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Monarch was eagerly followed by his courtiers. The simple line of building which had formerly contained Duke Humphrey's Library, and which had already been repaired by Bodley, having been long insufficient to admit even a fourth part of his collection, he proposed to the University to convert it, at his own charge, into that noble quadrangle in which it now remains. The first stone of the new building was laid, with great formalities, on the nineteenth of July, 1610, but the founder did not live to see it completed. He had not neglected however to provide for it by his will, by which also he settled two hundred pounds annually on the library for ever, having previously composed, with great care and judgement, a large body of statutes for its government, the original of which, in his own hand writing, is preserved there, and has been long published, annexed to the Statutes of the University, and otherwise.

Sir Thomas Bodley, for he had been knighted by King James the First, on that Prince's accession, died, without issue, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1612, and lies buried at the head of the choir of Merton College Chapel, under a superb monument executed in the best taste of the time.



GEORGE GORDON, MARQUIS OF HUNTLEY

OB 1649

ON THE ORIGINAL OF VANDERK IN THE COLLECTION

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKLEIGH

GEORGE GORDON.

SECOND MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

THIS nobleman was one of the many exalted persons whose firm and honest attachment to the established government of their country had drawn from a splendid privacy to serve Charles the first in the field. He appears to have taken no concern in the political affairs of the time, nor to have possessed more than an ordinary share of the royal confidence or affection. The earlier part of his life had passed little distinguished from those of others of his eminent rank, and the latter affords few circumstances of rare occurrence in the history of a military leader, a character in which perfect fidelity to the cause which he serves, and untarnished honour in his conduct in that, and in all others, are necessarily supposed.

He was the eldest son of George, sixth Earl of Huntly, whom James the sixth raised to the dignity of Marquis in 1599, by Henrietta, eldest daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox. In his youth, but after his marriage, he had entered into the service of Louis the thirteenth of France, in whose army he commanded, in 1624, a company, which I find designated the Scottish gens d'armes, and which seems to have been in great measure formed by himself, since we are told that he carried with him from his own country "a party of gallant young gentlemen, well appointed." He remained long in France, and, during his stay there, was created Viscount of Aboyne, with remainder, after his death, or succession to his father's titles, to his second son; nor did he return to Scotland till the autumn of 1636, shortly after the death of his father. The unhappy contest on ecclesiastical questions which soon after produced the Scottish covenant and rebellion

GEORGE GORDON,

had then risen to a formidable height, and the Marquis, on his arrival, instantly ranged himself with the defenders of the established church. At length, in the beginning of the year 1639, the covenanters appeared in arms, under the command of David Lesley, whom they had elected their General, and Huntly flew to Aberdeen, and placed himself at the head of the citizens, who were already in array to oppose them. The great and excellent Earl of Montrose, who in the beginning of the troubles had attached himself to the malcontent party, was now dispatched by Lesley to raise troops in that part of the country, and to attack the Marquis, who, on the appearance of Montrose's superior force, proposed to surrender the town, under articles of capitulation which were accepted. These, however, from motives now unknown, he revoked the next day; surrendered at discretion; and was led to Edinburgh, together with his heir, the Lord Gordon, and imprisoned in the castle; having suffered the mortification before his departure of seeing his second son, the Lord Aboyne, subscribe to the covenant.

The term of their imprisonment, which appears to have been intended rather as a proof of the power and resolution of the rebels than as a caution or punishment, little exceeded two months, and the Marquis on being released retired into the country, where he remained, apparently unconcerned in public affairs, till the commencement of the year 1644, when, having received a commission from the King constituting him his Majesty's Lieutenant in the north of Scotland, he raised his vassals and tenants, and suddenly appeared again in arms. This demonstration seems to have excited much anxiety in the covenanters. A convention of the disaffected estates was called at Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Argyll was directed to raise three regiments with all practicable speed, and to attack Huntly, against whom, and several of his adherents, the assembly issued a sentence of excommunication. Argyll performed his task with a spirit and expedition which enabled him to appear, even unexpectedly, with

SECOND MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

a superior force in the sight of the little army of Huntly, who immediately disbanded his men, and retired, "privately," as my authority expresses it, to Strathnaver, where he remained for some time with the Lord Reay. Huntly's conduct on this occasion did not escape without blame. One of his clan, the Laird of Haddo, an ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, and a chief perhaps more fierce than prudent, insisted that Argyll's attack ought to have been withstood; threw himself into his castle, with such soldiers as he could keep together; and defended it with great bravery, till he was put into the hands of the enemy by his own treacherous garrison.

In the mean time the Lord Gordon had exerted himself with even more than the usual ardour and generosity of his years. He had attached himself to the Marquis of Montrose, who, having quitted a party, the wickedness of whose designs had filled him with horror, was now firmly rivetted to the royal cause. He joined Montrose, in February, 1645, with many adherents, at the commencement of a series of victories gained by that nobleman over the covenanters, and, as well by his amiable manners and excellent talents as by his signal bravery, had acquired Montrose's perfect esteem, when, on the second of the following July, he fell, fighting by the side of his illustrious patron, in the battle of Alford. Between that great commander, however, and the Marquis of Huntly little cordiality seems to have subsisted. In the autumn of that year we find Huntly availing himself of the commission which, as has been stated, he had received from the King in 1644 to thwart the measures and weaken the authority of Montrose, who, after long and fruitless endeavours to obtain his aid, was necessitated to leave him in inactivity, and to depend on his own resources. The conduct of Huntly on these occasions, however otherwise blameable, was in no degree tinctured by disloyalty; for, it was immediately after this period that Charles, having fatally put himself into the hands of the covenanters, was compelled by them to command his faithful servants in Scotland

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to lay down their arms, an order which the Marquis refused to obey while the King was in the power of his rebellious subjects. Such indeed was the opinion held of his fidelity by the English Parliament that in the propositions which were in the following year offered to his Majesty by commissioners from that assembly Huntly's name was inserted among those whom he was required specially to except from pardon, and this was one of the articles which Charles positively rejected.

It is too well known that in the succeeding January the Scottish puritans sold their King, who had so lately put himself under their protection, for a sum of money to his English rebels. So monstrous a stroke paralysed, as might reasonably be expected, the efforts of his yet faithful friends. Among these, Huntly and his band were driven into the Highlands, and the Marquis, with a few of his relations, having retired to the northernmost part of that country, wrote to Lesley to request him to intercede for permission that they might remove themselves out of the kingdom. This boon was refused; his castles were plundered, and afterwards garrisoned by the rebels; and, having wandered for six months in a country the natural desolation of which had been heightened by the ravages of war, he was seized in Strathnaver, where he had for some weeks concealed himself, and led a prisoner to Edinburgh. Here the Committee of the Estates, as it was called, was then sitting, and the question was proposed without delay, whether he should be immediately put to death, or respited till the meeting of Parliament? The Marquis of Argyll, being his brother-in-law, had the decency to withdraw before the division, in which it was determined by a single voice that his life should be spared for the time. He remained a close prisoner from the month of December, 1647, till the sixteenth of March, 1649, when he was brought to a trial, and condemned to suffer death, and on the twenty-second of that month was beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh.

This nobleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Archibald

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Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, by whom he had five sons, and as many daughters. George, his eldest son, fell, as has been already said, in the field of battle; the second, James, Viscount of Aboyne, died unmarried not long before his father; Lewis, the third son, succeeded to the titles of Marquis of Huntly, &c.; Charles, the fourth, was created Earl of Aboyne in 1660; and Henry passed his life in the military service of the King of Poland. Of the daughters, Anne was married to James Drummond, third Earl of Perth; Henrietta, first to George, Lord Seton, and, secondly, to John Stewart, second Earl of Traquair; Jane, to Thomas Hamilton, second Earl of Haddington: Mary, was wife of Alexander Irvine, of Drum; and Catherine, of Count Morstain, High Treasurer of Poland.



JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1649.

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF HAMILTON

THIS nobleman, whose invariable fidelity, and untimely sacrifice atoned in some measure for the detestable treachery of a wretched few of his countrymen toward his royal master, was the eldest son of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn. He was born in the year 1606, and brought at an early age to England, where he completed his education in the University of Oxford, and was a student there, and in the eighteenth year of his age, when he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, on the death of his father. His attachment to Charles the First, who was but few years older than himself, had commenced in his childhood. He had been one of the few of that Prince's chosen companions, originally perhaps on account of his propinquity in blood, but the sweetness and pliancy of his disposition soon furnished a stronger tie, and it was observed, contrary to the usual event of such exaltations, that Charles after mounting the throne manifested towards him an increasing affection. He went however towards the end of the first year of that reign into Scotland, where the magnificence of his father had produced heavy incumbrances on his estate, and resisted as long as he could with decency the repeated invitations of the King, who, with a familiarity which he seldom used to any, constantly corresponded with him during his absence. At length, in the winter of 1638, Charles sent the Earl of Denbigh, who was his father-in-law, expressly to summon him to return to the Court, and he obeyed, and on his arrival was sworn of the Privy Council, appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and soon after Master of the Horse, which office had hitherto been vacant by the murder of the Duke of Buckingham.

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He became presently an object of jealousy, for many of the courtiers suspected that he would succeed also to the unbounded favour which had been enjoyed by that nobleman; and it arose perhaps more from his own prudence than from the King's choice, that a new destination, which might lessen their envy by removing him from their sight, was soon after allotted to him. The heroic Gustavus Adolphus was preparing to stem the torrent of the Emperor's unjust conquests in Germany, and Charles, the first desire of whose heart was to regain the Palatinate, which had been wrested from his sister's husband, was anxious to lend his best aid to the enterprise. Gustavus had solicited him to that end, but Charles, for some reasons of state now unknown, was desirous that the levies to be made for that purpose should appear to proceed from the voluntary inclination of his subjects, and Hamilton agreed to procure and command them as at his own charge, while the King of Sweden, on his part, condescended to sign a treaty with the Marquis, differing nothing in its language and forms from the accustomed usage on such occasions between brother Sovereigns. This negotiation was not concluded till the spring of 1631, though Hamilton had employed several preceding months in raising troops, chiefly in his own country. In the mean time a private quarrel between two persons whom he had employed in Holland to forward the purposes of his plan, Mackay, Lord Reay, and David Ramsay, produced against him an accusation of high treason. Reay, in malice to his adversary had informed Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman then in London, who entertained an hereditary hatred to Hamilton, that Ramsay had assured him that the Marquis's design in this movement was to assert his title to the crown of Scotland. Ochiltree gladly communicated the intelligence to the Lord Western, then High Treasurer, adding an insinuation of the peril to which the King exposed himself, by permitting Hamilton to elevate his room, which, according to the custom of the time, was the Marquis's duty as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Western presently

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carried the news to the King; and the Marquis, on returning to London, for the purpose of ceremoniously taking his leave of the King, had from his Majesty the first intimation of this slander, accompanied by an assurance of his utter disbelief of it. Charles, with that cool magnanimity which his bitterest enemies have never denied to his character, commanded Hamilton to lie that night in his bedchamber, and the affair concluded in the award of a sentence of perpetual imprisonment against Lord Ochiltree, and in that appeal to single combat by Reay and Ramsay which has been largely treated of in a late admirable disquisition on the obsolete law of duel.

On the sixteenth of July, 1631, Hamilton, lately decorated with the order of the Garter, sailed, with about forty vessels, and six thousand men, and on the twenty-ninth reached the mouth of the Oder, where he received an order from Gustavus to march into Silesia. The Imperialists were panic struck on his arrival, and the Protestants in an equal measure elated, for the reputation of Scottish valour stood very high in Germany, and rumour had magnified his numbers to twenty thousand, but a little time restored to the spirits of each party their former tone: he found himself in a country completely wasted by war, and frightfully infected by the plague, which carried off one-third of his force within a few days in the neighbourhood of Frankfort; yet, undaunted by these calamities, he plunged with ardour and activity into the service that he had undertaken, relieved Crossen, and took Guben, two considerable garrison towns on the Silesian frontier, and marched from thence into Lower Saxony, to lay an ineffectual siege to Magdebourg. His brave Scots were now reduced to fifteen hundred, and, with the German and Swedish troops which had been joined to them, too weak to undertake any exploit of importance; reinforcements which had been promised by Gustavus were delayed from time to time, and in fact never arrived; and he discovered, to his infinite mortification, that the success of the Palatinate cause was regarded by that

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~~James~~ with indifference, if not with aversion. He now attached his force to the main army, and set out alone to seek the King of Sweden, by whom he was entertained for many months with fair words and expectations, till, weary and ashamed of the character of a mere volunteer, he returned to England, with the remnant of his little army, almost at the precise time that Gustavus fell at the battle of Lutzen.

Charles received him with all the kindness to which he had been accustomed, but we find him in no important employment in the State till 1638, when he was appointed Lord High Commissioner for the affairs of the Scottish church, an office always of great weight, and at that period involved in peculiar difficulties. It was the year which gave birth to the detestable covenant, and to the concomitant discord on points of ecclesiastical discipline which soon after blazed forth into open rebellion. The Marquis arrived in Edinburgh when the confusion was at its height, and left nothing undone that wisdom, humanity, and patriotism, could devise to restore order, and to satisfy sincere scruples of conscience. At length, after six months passed in calm persuasion, and reasonable concessions, on his part, and in subtle intrigue, and sturdy obstinacy, on that of the covenanters, he pronounced the dissolution of the general assembly, which, in utter contempt of his authority, continued its sittings, and published its decrees; abolished episcopacy; and assumed, without professing it, a complete independence in the government of the Church. Hamilton now issued a proclamation declaring those who continued to sit in the assembly traitors, and returned to England, while the covenanters threw off the mask, and proceeded to levy troops, and Charles, as is well known, went in person to York in the spring of 1639, at the head of an army, to endeavour to reduce them to obedience.

The Marquis remained for a few days in London, to superintend the embarkation of troops, with which he landed on the first of May in Leith Road. Here he received an insidious letter

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signed by the Earls of Rothes and Argyll, and other noblemen of the covenant party, which, together with his answer, have fortunately been preserved. The concluding words of the latter may furnish for all such times and occasions, a salutary lesson to the senseless herd on whose credulity faction always builds its strength—"Whereas you desire me," says Hamilton, "to be a means that your supplications may have free access to his Majesty's ears, it is a work of no difficulty, for his Majesty hath never stopt his ears to the supplications of any of his subjects when they have been presented to him in that humble and fitting way which became dutiful subjects; nor did I ever refuse any all the time I was among you, or conceal any part of them from his Majesty; so that your allegation of not being heard is grounded upon the same false foundations that your other actions are, and serves only for a means to delude the simple people, that by making them believe what you have a mind to possess them with they may become backers of your unwarrantable actions; which, as it is generally lamented by all his Majesty's good subjects, so it is more particularly by me, who have had the honour to be employed in this business with so bad success." He was now every hour assailed with insolent or hypocritical letters and messages from the chiefs of the covenanters, justifying their cause, and magnifying the force by which they threatened to defend it, but always concluding with offers of treaty. He had remained for nearly a month on board, impatiently expecting orders to march against the rebels, when he received a mortifying command from the King not to disembark without his Majesty's orders. Charles, confused, by jarring counsels, ill-provided of money to bear the charges even of the shortest campaign; convinced by his own observation of the bitter obstinacy and strength of his opponents; and utterly hopeless of succour from England, already repented of his enterprise. After a few days however had passed, encouraged by some transient ground of hope, he recalled the prohibition. "All these things considered," says he,

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in a letter of the 2d of June from his camp at Berwick, "it were a shame I should be idle: wherefore now I set you loose, to do what mischief you can do to the rebels for my service with those men you have, for you cannot have one man from hence:" yet this resolution was no sooner made than revoked: for on the fourth of the same month the Marquis was commanded to make the best arrangement in his power for mere defence, and to repair without delay to the King, on his arrival at whose camp he found a treaty already commenced. It was concluded on the eighteenth, and conceded to the Scots almost all that they had required, and much more than they had expected.

Hamilton's conduct in the affairs of Scotland at this momentous period faithful and loyal as it had been, incurred much censure. While he abhorred the rebellion he scarcely disapproved of the ~~professed~~ motives of its leaders, and incurred at once the hatred of the covenanters by his determined resistance to their violence, and of the rest of his countrymen for having at length advised Charles to purchase a peace by the sacrifice of the hierarchy. Conscious of this unpopularity, and of the ill effect to be expected from it on his future public services in Scotland, he steadily resisted the King's earnest inclination to continue him in the office of High Commissioner, which indeed by the terms of the treaty had now sunk nearly into an empty title, and contented himself with the character of a private counsellor, and his master's unimpaired favour and confidence. Charles, however still committed his affairs in that country to his charge, and shewed little disposition to conceal that determination, having placed his brother, William Hamilton, then also created Earl of Lanerick, (Lanark) in the office of Secretary of State there. Thus matters stood with him when, in August 1640, the Scottish army invaded England; worsted the King's forces in the battle of Newburn; and compelled Charles in the end of the following month to a treaty at Ripon, for which he named as one of his three commissioners the Marquis, with whom the enemy posi-

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tively refused to negotiate. Every demand made by the covenanters was soon after complied with, and it was by his advice that the King made these bitter concessions.

He now for a time declined in his master's favour. The most industrious efforts had been made to prejudice Charles against him by insinuations, if not of direct treachery, at least of sacrificing the royal interest to his own. Charles however, among whose many virtues a constancy in friendship was peculiarly conspicuous, was soon reconciled to him. A most memorable letter from the unhappy monarch on that occasion, dispatched to him by his brother Lanerick, which, though it has long been in print, is little known, highly deserves to be here recalled to observation.

“ Hamilton,

Though the trust of this bearer needs not a credential letter, yet the civility of a friend cannot but under his hand, as well as by word of mouth, express his kindness, and resentment of courtesies which of late have been such that you have given me just cause to give you better thanks than I will offer at in words. I shall not neglect the lazy use of so trusty a bearer by referring to him not only the estate of my affairs here, but likewise in what way you will be of most use to me; yet I cannot but tell you I have set up my rest upon the justice of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will either be a glorious King, or a patient martyr; and, as yet, not being the first, nor at this present apprehending the other, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution unto you. One thing more, which, but for the messenger, were too much to trust to paper—the failing to one friend hath indeed gone very near me; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like. Upon this ground I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me that he will still bless this good cause in my hands,

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on that all my punishment shall be in this world, which without performing what I have resolved I cannot flatter myself will end here. This accustomed freedom will I am confident add cheerfulness to your honest resolutions, seeing, beside generosity, to which I pretend a little, my conscience will make me stick to my friends, assuring you I have none if I am not

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R."

Oxford,
2d Decemb. 1642.

Within very few weeks after the date of this letter the King's affection for him was declared to the world by a patent creating him Duke of Hamilton, and this grace seems to have highly aggravated the malice of his numerous enemies. He had remained in Scotland for more than two years without any ostensible public character, combating or soothing the fury of parties by promoting coalitions, sowing jealousies, threatening vengeance to some, and offering rewards to others, while at home loyalists and rebels, episcopalian and covenanters, joined in endeavouring to ruin him in the King's opinion. Charles, thus perpetually besieged, perhaps began to doubt his fidelity, and the Marquis of Montrose, who had lately quitted the popular party of his country, and attached himself to the royal cause, and whose candour, zeal, and courage, had rendered him an universal favourite, was his bitter foe. The representations of Montrose at length turned the scale against him. He had remonstrated with the King on the aspersions which had been cast on his conduct, and was consoled by the following letter, dated at Oxford, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1643.

"Hamilton,

Having much to say, and little time to write, I have commanded this trusty bearer to supply the shortness of this letter, which, though it be chiefly to give trust to what he

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shall say to you in my name, yet I cannot but assure you by my own hand that no ill offices have had the power to lessen my confidence in you, or my estimation of you, for you shall find me

Your most assured, real, constant, friend,

CHARLES R.¹

Emboldened by these kind expressions, and every day more clearly informed of the activity of his adversaries, he now determined to justify himself personally to the King, and on the sixteenth of December arrived at Oxford; but they had employed the short interval so successfully that he was arrested, together with his brother Lanerick, on entering the town. The matters charged against him, couched in eight articles of great length, were delivered to him, and if we are to give them credit the whole of his long administration of the affairs of Scotland was a continued tissue of disloyalty and selfishness. He answered them however severally with great clearness and plausibility, and besought for a speedy trial, but his accusers replied that till the public commotions should be quieted it would not be possible for them to procure the attendance of their witnesses. His complaints of this injustice were disregarded, and he was sent, a close prisoner, to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, with Lanerick, who soon after availed himself of a less rigorous confinement to make his escape; and the Duke's place of captivity was changed within a few months to St. Michael's Mount, in the same county, where he remained till the latter end of April, 1646, when he was liberated by the surrender of that fortress to the rebels. He is said now to have determined to retire from public affairs, but that the unhappy resolution taken just at that time by Charles to throw himself into the hands of the Scots drew him again into action. He waited, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the succeeding July, on the King, who not only received him with kindness, but apologised to him for having given the order for his

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imprisonment, saying that "it was extorted from him much against his heart, and that he had stood-out against all the importunities of the Duke's enemies till the very morning he came to Oxford, on which most of the whole Court came about him, and said they would all desert him if he yielded not to their desires." The nineteen bitter propositions by which the English Parliament, in concert with the Scottish commissioners, sought to destroy the ecclesiastical establishment, and to strip the crown of most of its authority were now delivered to the King; Hamilton pressed him with earnestness to accede to them, and, on his steady refusal, asked and obtained leave to quit the little shadow of a Court which still surrounded him. The Duke departed with a degree of disgust which however did not prevent him from exerting his vain endeavours in the country against the fury of the rebellion by various devices on which he constantly corresponded with Charles, whose friendship for him seemed unalterable, and he was so engaged when that miserable Prince was sold by his countrymen to the English, and led into captivity.

Scotland now vainly employed to retrieve its disgrace the means which had they been lately exerted in defence of the King would have redounded to its lasting honour. An army was raised for the purpose of rescuing Charles, and replacing him on his throne, and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed Commander in Chief. In spite of vehement opposition from the fanatic clergy, extensive levies were made, and the troops, ten thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, ill provided, ill accoutred, and without artillery, marched into England in July, 1648. The rebel force in the north retreated before them, and, having on their way into Lancashire reduced Appleby Castle, they proceeded to Kendal, where they were joined by the Scottish regiments which had for some time served in Ireland, and had now left that country to attach themselves to the Royal cause. Almost destitute of intelligence, they reached Preston before they discovered that

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the troops under Lambert, which they had expected to meet, had been lately joined by a force yet superior, commanded by Cromwell, whose very name was now a host. The rebel army was so near that Hamilton had no choice but to engage, and the result of a short action left him no chance of avoiding ruin but in a hasty retreat towards Scotland. He marched precipitately into Staffordshire, and reached Utoxeter, where the misery and confusion of the remnant of his troops having been completed by a mutiny among them, he was on the point of surrendering to the Governor of Stafford, and the militia of the county, when he was spared that ignominy by the appearance of Lambert, with whom, in the last week of August, 1648, he signed articles of capitulation, one of which expressly provided for the security of the lives of himself and those who were captured with him. He was now conducted to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, where he remained a close prisoner in the Castle till the beginning of December, when he was removed to Windsor, where he had the melancholy gratification of seeing once more his unfortunate Prince. On the twenty-first of the month the King was led through that town to the place of his approaching sacrifice, and Hamilton obtained leave to speak to him for a moment. It was a pathetic moment. The Duke knelt on the road as the royal victim passed, and, kissing his hand, exclaimed, "my dear master!" Charles embraced him with tenderness, and said "I have indeed been so to you." They were then hastily separated.

During his confinement at Windsor Cromwell repeatedly visited him, in the vain hope of tempting him to discover the persons in England with whom he had concerted his late ill-fated enterprise, and in their conversations he fell some expressions, which, together with the diabolical fury that animated the proceeding then carrying on against the King, left him no room to hope either for justice or mercy. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape, and, having planned the means with a fir-

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Cole, one of his faithful retainers, and bribed his keeper, left his prison on the night of the memorable thirtieth of January, and rode towards London, where, through an alteration imprudently made by himself as to the appointed place of meeting with Cole, he fell into the hands of some rebel soldiers in Southwark, and was immediately committed to strict custody. On the sixth of the following month he was brought to a trial before the same persons who, under the assumed denomination of the high court of justice, had a few days before decreed the murder of their King. It was extended to eleven days, in a hypocritical affectation of solemn and candid enquiry, of which there needs no better proof than the determination of his judges that the engagement in the treaty at Utoxeter for the safety of his life had no further meaning than that he should be protected at the time from the vengeance of the soldiery. At length on the sixth of March they pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to be beheaded, and on the ninth he suffered in New Palace Yard, with admirable patience and heroism, in company with the Earl of Holland, and the gallant Lord Capel. His death was little regretted, for he had been the constant object of envy in the English Court and State, and of doubt and jealousy in his own country. The true nature of his public services was correctly known only by the King and himself, and a discovery of it would probably have exposed him to the bitterest hatred. Flattering, dividing, balancing, and betraying, factions, it may perhaps be no injustice to his memory to consider him as an over zealous partizan, who not unfrequently sacrificed the exactness of honour and truth to personal affection, and profound loyalty. That such a character should have provoked much obloquy might fairly be expected, but that a writer so wise, so well informed, and so candid, as Lord Clarendon, should have so repeatedly and severely arraigned it, without adducing a single fact of sinister conduct whereon to ground his justifications censures, is altogether astonishing.

The Duke married Mary, daughter of William Fielding, first

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Earl of Denbigh, by whom he had three sons, Charles, James, and William, all of whom died children ; and three daughters, of whom Mary, the eldest, died also young. The second, Anne, inherited, under a special intail, the title of Duchess of Hamilton, on the death of her uncle, mentioned here as Earl of Lenthric, who was her father's immediate successor : she married William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, eldest son of William, Marquis of Douglas, and obtained for him, soon after the restoration, the title of Duke of Hamilton. The youngest, Susannah, married John Kennedy, seventh Earl of Cassilis.



JOHN SELDEN.

OB. 1651.

ORIGINAL OF MYLES.

THE BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

JOHN SELDEN.

MR. SELDEN was certainly the most learned, and perhaps the most honest Englishman of his time. He was actually a patriot, for his continued efforts to serve his country, however frequently he might have mistaken the means, seem never for a moment to have incurred even a suspicion of selfishness. Wealth, power, and dignities, had been laid at his feet, and refused by him. Firm in his occasional resistance to that royal prerogative, the limits of which no man could so well define as himself; incapable of private resentment for public causes; indifferent to popularity, and despising the hypocritical fanaticism by which it was then the fashion to court it; he stood almost alone, a perfect example of public integrity. His patriotism extended to, and guided even his literary studies. The final object of all his works was to improve the history of the religion, the laws, the government, or the liberties, of his country. In the prosecution of his profound inquiries he disdained conjecture, and avoided argument. Devoted by his nature to the love of truth, he could not rest on his way till he had arrived at facts; and, influenced by the habit of his profession, he considered those only as facts which he could prove by the most rigid evidence. To qualify himself to search for such proofs, even to the remotest sources of intelligence, he had added to the most critical skill in what are usually called the learned languages, an intimate knowledge perhaps of all others which could boast a written alphabet. Some sparks of vanity in the composition of his mind would have placed his fame far beyond that of a few prodigies of learning who have been so frequently celebrated; but he sought not for notoriety, and did not affect either to be absent, or slovenly, or morose, or melancholy. It is perhaps therefore that he may be seldom recollected, while we

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talk with much interest of the Florentine Magliabechi, and of others who were very inferior to Selden.

This great man was the eldest son of Thomas Selden, of Salvington, a small village on the Sussex coast, not far from Arundel, who seems to have been of the higher order of yeomanry, and who had probably increased his means by having married Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Baker, of Rustington, a neighbouring parish, descended from an ancient knightly family of the county. Of these parents he was born on the sixteenth of December, 1584. He was sent, very young, to the free school of Chichester, and from thence, at the age of fourteen, to Hart Hall, in Oxford, where he astonished every one by the rapidity with which he mastered all the usual difficulties of academical study. His family, rather perhaps than his own inclination, had destined him for the profession of the law, and he removed therefore, at the end of four years, to Clifford's Inn, and in May, 1604, was admitted of the Inner Temple. Here he soon practised extensively as a chamber counsel, but we scarcely hear of him at the bar, and his absence from it has been attributed to his consciousness of some deficiency of requisite talents, but surely this is very extravagantly conjectured of one who became soon after a frequent speaker in parliament. May it not be ascribed with much more probability to the aversion which might reasonably be expected in such a man to the sophisms and misrepresentations by which an advocate is unhappily so frequently bound to sacrifice truth and justice to the interests of his client? In the intervals which could be spared from the exercise of his profession, he employed himself incessantly in searching into the origin and history of all laws, in all their branches; and, at the age of twenty-two, completed a treatise in Latin on the civil government of Britain, before the coming of the Normans. This work, notwithstanding many errors and omissions, was esteemed a wonderful performance for so young a student, and the approbation with which it was received encouraged him to pursue the

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subject, and to enlarge on some detached parts of it, in several tracts, published mostly in the year 1610, under the titles of "*Jani Anglorum facies altera*;" "*England's Epinomis*;" and an Essay on single Combat. Nor was his pen then solely confined to antiquities of law, for in 1612 he printed "*Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen Songs of Drayton's Polyolbion*," a poem for its historical and other learning worthy of such a commentator.

His acquaintance was now sought by the most eminent literary men of his time. Archbishop Usher knew him so early as 1609, and they contracted an earnest friendship for each other, which continued unimpaired during Selden's life. Camden, Spelman, and Sir Robert Cotton, became his familiar companions. Ben Jonson lived in a strict intimacy with him, and Selden caught from the learned poet rather perhaps an inclination than a taste for English as well as Latin verse, for the few compositions left by him contain nothing very remarkable: though Suckling, unwilling to lose an opportunity of shewing respect to him, has given him a very honourable seat in the "*Session of Poets*." Perhaps the most favourable specimen of his muse is to be found in a short compliment to the author, prefixed to the *Pastorals* of William Browne, which I will insert for the sake of presenting this "*great dictator of learning of the English nation*," as he is called by a German writer, in a character so wide of the course of his usual studies.

So much a stranger my severer muse
Is not to love-strains, or a shepherd's reed,
But that she knows some rites of Phœbus' dues,
Of Pan, of Pallas, and her sister's meed.
Read, and commend, she durst these tun'd essays
Of him that loves her: she hath ever found
Her studies as one circle. Next she prays
His readers be with rose and myrtle crown'd:
No willow touch them! as his bays are free
From wrong of bolts, so may their chaplets be.

J. SELDEN, *Juris C.*

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In 1614 he published his great work on Titles of Honour, comprehending, without the smallest omission, the history of all ranks in society which have acquired distinct denominations, and tracing them gradually to their original institutions and functions. The vast display of learning, and the exquisite correctness, which distinguish this extraordinary book, spread his reputation throughout the whole of Europe: but he was even then employed in a work of higher erudition—his treatise on the Deities of the ancient Syrians, intended as a commentary on all the passages of the Old Testament relating to the idols of the heathens, and discussing therefore not only the Syrian, but the Arabian, Egyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry. It appeared in 1617; and in the following year he published his "History of Tythes," in which, without arguing against the divine right by which the Church assumes to hold them, he cited numerous authorities of much weight which tended to invalidate it. The clergy, with good reason, were greatly alarmed, and the King not less offended. James, however, consented to hear his apology personally, and he was introduced for that purpose by Ben Jonson, as is said, and received more mildly than he had expected. The King pointed out some objectionable passages, particularly one, from which it might have been inferred that the twenty-fifth of December was not the true birth-day of our Saviour, and desired Selden to sanction the received opinion on that subject by a small treatise; which, finding nothing in the concession against his conscience, he promised to write, and presented it accordingly to James on Christmas day, which fell shortly after. The storm seemed thus to have blown over; but, within a very few weeks, he was cited before the High Commission Court, which, having exacted from him a submission, though in no very humiliating terms, prohibited the sale of his book; the King, at the same time, forbidding him, under pain of imprisonment, to reply to any of the animadversions which might be written on it.

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He was now to take a part in that mighty political scene which was then opening. In 1621, James, having most imprudently asserted in a speech to the Parliament that the privileges of both Houses were originally grants from the Crown, the Lords did Mr. Selden the honour to refer that great question to his opinion, in delivering which he wholly denied the position; at the same time honestly defending the fair prerogative, with more warmth than they either expected or desired. He was consulted on the same occasion, though with less form, by the Commons; and the famous protest made by them, immediately before the dissolution of that Parliament, was attributed not only to his advice, but to his pen. For these facts he was imprisoned, by an order of the Council, of the sixteenth of June, which directed that "no person should be suffered to speak with him; nor should word, message, or writing, be received by him; and that a gentleman of trust should be appointed to remain with him," &c. He immediately addressed to Sir George Calvert, one of the Secretaries of State, the following letter, which, were it only for the cool firmness which it exhibits, certainly deserves a place in this memoir.

Most honored S^r,

THIS most unlookt for imprisonm^t w^{ch} I now suffer, (but why, on my soule, I cannot guesse) falls in a time when I have divers businesses of private mens' in my hands, and under my direction. The warrant of my commitm^t is somewhat strict. My humble suite to yo^r Honor is that, through yo^r favor, I may have granted to me so much libertie here as that I may have speech wth my friends upon such kinde of business, openly, and in the hearing of those gentlemen who are trusted wth me: and I professe it, on the hope of my salvation, that there is not a seacret that hath, or can possibly have, any reference to the publique touching w^{ch} I desire either to heare or tell any thing, from or to any p^rson living, so cleare is my brest, and I beseech yo^r Honor let me be dispatched in the making it appeare. Soe I humblie beseech you

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alsoe that my papers, w^{ch} are the labors of many houres, and a greate part of the furniture of my studie in my p^ression, among which there is nothing that was written for seacret, may be safe. Let me obtain these suites now; and, my lib^tie once had, w^{ch} I knowe I nev^r deserved to loose, I shall expresse me ever humblie at yo^r Honor's service.

JO. SELDEN.

Notwithstanding this apparent rigour he was liberated at the end of five weeks, at the intercession of the Lord Keeper Williams, a letter from whom to the Duke of Buckingham, to that effect, is extant. During his confinement he prepared for the press the historical work of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, and enriched it by numerous notes; and in the dedication of it to Williams, thanks that Prelate for having procured his release.

In 1623 he was returned a Burgess for the town of Lancaster, and in the Parliaments which were called in the first and second years of Charles the first was elected for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He had confined himself for four years chiefly to his literary labours, but in the beginning of this reign engaged again with great warmth in politics. He was chosen of the committee for forming articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, and appointed one of the managers at his proposed trial. After the dissolution of the Parliament in which those matters were agitated, he appeared among the firm opposers of the loan which Charles had unhappily been advised to levy on the authority of his prerogative, and pleaded in the Court of King's Bench for Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to submit to it. In the House of Commons he was a speaker on the popular side on all the great questions of that eventful period, and his speeches were regarded as the dictates of an oracle. He became so formidable to the government, that it was resolved to prevent his attendance in Parliament by secluding his person, and, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1628, he was committed to the Tower,

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on a charge of having uttered seditious expressions, and attempted to excite contempt against the State. After seven months' confinement, the Judges proposed that he should be released, on giving security for his good behaviour, but he steadfastly rejected the offer. He was then removed to the prison of the King's Bench, and soon after prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for publishing a libel which had been written in the late reign by Sir Robert Dudley, intituled "a Proposition for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." By the favour of the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer, he was transferred to a nominal restraint in the Gatehouse, Westminster, and went for nearly three months into the country, at the end of which he was again committed to the King's Bench Prison, and remained there till May, 1631, when he was admitted to bail, that he might be enabled to appear in the Courts, on the matters of a great suit then pending between the heirs of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and afterwards bailed from term to term, till July, 1634, when he was finally discharged; having, for four years together, incessantly solicited in vain for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The literary fruits of this second seclusion were his four treatises on ancient Jewish Law—"De successionibus in Bona Defuncti—De successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum—De Jure naturali et gentium,"—and "Uxor Hebraica, sive de nuptiis ac divortiis."

This rigorous, and indeed illegal, prosecution, neither soured his temper, nor warped the impartiality of his judgment. We find him, even before he was absolutely released, on a Committee of Members of the Inns of Court for the management of the masque to be presented before their Majesties on Candlemas night, 1633; so rendering an agreeable compliment to the King, while he opposed the fanatical Prynne, though a great favourite of his party, who had written outrageously against all dramatic representations. Soon after too he published, at Charles's special desire, his celebrated treatise "Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris," which he had written some years before, in opposition

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to the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius. The King, in Council, commanded that copies of this book, the doctrines of which were so important to the interests, as well as flattering to the prejudices, of the country, should be preserved always in the chests of the Privy Council, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty; and the immediate concession of the Dutch to pay an annual tribute to the Crown of England for their fishery was ascribed in a great measure to the arguments of Selden. The sternness however of his political opinions and practice remained undiminished. In the Parliaments of 1640, and 1641, in which he sat for the University of Oxford, he was among the foremost of those who opposed the Court; joined with vehemence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford; and, perhaps inexcusably, (for ~~who~~ will subscribe to the praise of that Roman virtue which can disdain the ties of private gratitude?) of Archbishop Laud, from whom he had for many years experienced constant friendship and favour. Certainly he was a bitter enemy to the Hierarchy, and the votes which deprived the Bishops of their seats in Parliament, and the clergy in general of all temporal jurisdiction, had the earnest support both of his voice and his pen.

It was at this period, 1642, that the King, then at York, tendered to him the custody of the Great Seal. Charles took this step with the concurrence of those excellent men, Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Falkland, who admired Selden as much for his virtues as for his wisdom and learning.

They entertained a hope that he had lately become somewhat disgusted at the increased violence of his party, for, though he had voted against the King's commission of array, he had supported with much force and warmth of argument the Royal Prerogative as to the Militia; but he declined the offer, by a letter to Lord Falkland, from the terms of which it may be clearly inferred that he had determined never to serve the King separately from the Parliament. Some knowledge of this correspondence got abroad, and a rumour arose that he had engaged

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with Edmund Waller, and others, to deliver up London to the King; and Selden, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of his own character, condescended to deny the charge on his oath. He now engaged more deeply with the Parliament party, and in 1643 was chosen one of the lay members of the assembly of presbyterian clergy, and soon after subscribed to that wretched bond of rebellion between England and Scotland which bore the name of "the solemn league and covenant." In the same year he was appointed by the Parliament Keeper of the Records in the Tower; in 1645 one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; and in 1646 the sum of five thousand pounds was voted to him, as a compensation for his sufferings in the public service, but it is said that he refused to receive it.

Amidst the horrors which shortly followed that period, the endeavours of the honest of either party became wholly useless. Mr. Selden had taken his full share in paving the way towards them, but he retired with a clear conscience. While the great mass of his political compeers had been swayed by ambition, vanity, resentment, or avarice, patriotism had been the motive, and the law of the land the index, to his public conduct. He returned with eagerness to his studies, and sat down to commence a work of stupendous erudition which he had long contemplated—"De Synedris et Prefecturis veterum Hebræorum," of which he lived to finish but three books, which were published singly, but at length appeared together in 1679, "which last edition," says Wood, "had divers corrections made, by reason of the many languages, twenty in number, therein." He wrote also, shortly before his death, a biographical and critical preface to "*Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ*," and "*Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ per convitium de scriptione Marci Clausi*," in which he detailed many circumstances of his own story. His works which have not been already mentioned here, were *Nathan Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ*, and on the *Sums of Sir Ralph Hengham*, 1616—*Marmore Arundeliana*. &c. &c.

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Discourse on the Judicature of the Peers and Commons, 1640—Answer to Sir Harbottle Grimston's Argument for Bishops, 1641—Discourse on the Rights of the Subject, in a conference between the two Houses, 1642—Privileges of the Baronage in Parliament, 1642—Versio et Comment. ad Eutychie Eccl. Alex. Origines, 1642—De Anno civili et calendario Judaico, 1644, and 1683—Dissertatio Historica ad Fletam—Discourse of the Office of Lord Chancellor—De Nummis—and two treatises, of the Origin of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments, and of Administration to the Goods of Intestates : the five last named were not published till long after his death.

He died on the thirtieth of November, 1654, of a gradual decline, at the Friery House, in White Friars, which he possessed as residuary legatee to Elizabeth (Talbot) Dowager Countess of Kent, with whom, as well as with her Lord, he maintained for many years the strictest friendship. He derived from that Lady other property, to a considerable amount, and had gained much in the exercise of his profession, and having lived a bachelor, and with no disposition to expense, except in the purchasing of books, he died very rich. He had once (according to Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, who was one of Selden's executors,) bequeathed his curious and extensive library to the University of Oxford, but had in great part revoked the legacy, in anger, because a bond for one thousand pounds had been required of him there, as a security for the loan of a manuscript. He left it therefore in the disposal of his executors, forbidding them however to sell it; and they proposed to bestow it on the Inner Temple, where it actually remained for five years in some chambers hired for the purpose; but the Society having so long neglected to build a room for its reception, the executors finally placed it in the Bodleian Library, where it remains, together with his collection of ancient sculptures, and other antiquities. He was buried, by his own order, in the Temple Church, Archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon.

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The parliamentary character of Selden was not long since given by an anonymous author, in a periodical paper, in the following terms, the truth, the comprehensive conciseness, and the manly beauty of expression of which, are equally admirable. "Selden was a member of the long Parliament, and took an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a Museum, or great public library, resorted to, as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages ; concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs."





CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE, COUNTESS OF DERBY

OR 1666.

THE RIGHT HON^{ble} THE EARL OF DERBY

CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE,

COUNTESS OF DERBY.

THE story of this illustrious lady, that is to say, almost the whole of it which remains unburied in oblivion, is confined to the journal of a siege. It exhibits however a character so abounding in sagacity, prudence, loyalty, grandeur of spirit, and active heroism, as to beguile us for a moment into a feeling of regret that the social policy of all climates and ages should have agreed to restrict the amiable sex to the power of pleasing, and to repress those energies which in spite of its regulations occasionally burst forth, and always with a degree of splendor which is rarely found to adorn even the finest of masculine sentiments or actions.

Charlotte de la Tremouille was the third daughter of Claude, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Palmont, and a Peer of France, by Charlotte Brabantina, daughter of William the first Prince of Orange, and of his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, of the royal House of Montpensier. She was married when very young to the excellent and highly accomplished James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, an outline of whose life and character has already appeared in this work. All the most propitious circumstances seemed to have combined to bless their union: the purest mutual affection; congenial talents and tempers; a numerous and beloved progeny; the most exalted birth, with immense revenues and the whole crowned by a just reputation for the practice of all virtues. This marvellous picture of almost superhuman felicity was doomed to be torn in pieces, and scattered to the winds, by the accursed demon of faction and rebellion.

The Earl, her husband, was among the first of the nobility who hastened to surround King Charles the first after his destruction.

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of war in the year 1642. He presented himself to his Sovereign at Shrewsbury, at the head of three regiments of infantry, and as many troops of horse, raised, clothed, and armed, solely at his own charge. It was thought proper to retain this force with the main army, and to dispatch the Earl back into Lancashire, his own country, that he might exert his great influence there in encouraging the gentry to further levies; and, having so done, with very extensive effect, and performed some gallant actions with a small body of new recruits, intelligence was received that the rebels had formed a design to seize the Isle of Man, of which he was hereditary Lord. He was now suddenly ordered thither, and his Lady and family being then resident in his noble mansion of Lathom, a building which required little to render it in some degree defensible, he threw into it a few soldiers, together with such arms, ammunition, and sustenance, as the time would allow him to collect, and having committed it, together with his children, and the management of all his English concerns, to the charge of the Countess, hastily departed.

He had scarcely reached the Isle when the Countess received certain intelligence that her house would shortly be attacked. She lost no time therefore in strengthening her little garrison, by increasing her provisions and military stores, and admitting singly, or in small parties, such neighbours of the middling and lower classes as might be depended on. Mingling these with the servants of the family, she formed the whole into six regiments, at the head of which she placed as many gentlemen of the county, and gave the command in chief to a Captain Farmer, a Scot, who had served with reputation in the Low Country wars, and was afterwards slain at Marston Moor, and these arrangements had been made with such caution and secrecy that the rebels had no expectation of resistance till they had arrived within two miles of the house. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1644, they arrived, led by Fairfax himself, who sent a trumpet to require a conference with the Countess, to which she agreed, and

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detained the messenger, says my authority, while, "to make the best show she could, she placed her inefficient and unarmed men on the walls, and tops of the towers, and marshalled all her soldiers in good order, with their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court to the great hall," in which she calmly awaited his visit. Their meeting was ceremonious and courteous. Fairfax informed her that he was commissioned to offer her an honourable and secure removal, with her children, retinue, and property, arms and ammunition excepted, to Knowsley Hall, another of the family seats; an engagement that she should reside there without molestation; and the moiety of the Earl's estate for her support. She answered that "she was under a double trust—of faith to her husband, and allegiance to her Sovereign, and desired to have a month to consider her answer; and, this being denied, rejoined that "she hoped then he would excuse her if she preserved her honour and obedience, though perhaps to her own ruin."

Fairfax departed, and was for some days doubtful whether to attack Lathom by storm or by siege, when he was determined by the artifice of one of the Earl's chaplains, a Mr. Rutter, who, happening to have some conversation with a rebel officer, his acquaintance, insinuated to him that the military force of the garrison was abundant, but that it had not fourteen days provision. This false intelligence was presently conveyed to Fairfax, who in consequence resolved against a summary assault, and, at the end of a fortnight accordingly, sent in military form to demand an immediate surrender. The Countess replied that "she had not yet forgotten what she owed to the Church of England to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till she had lost her honour or her life she would defend that place." The rebels presently began to form their trenches, when, on the twenty-fourth of March, she ordered a sally of two hundred men, who attacked them; slew about sixty, and took some prisoners; with the loss on her side only of two. The enemy now doubled their

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guard, and began to draw their lines at a greater distance, but were so interrupted by sallies that fourteen weeks had passed before they could complete them. This however done, they gradually approached the moat by which the house was surrounded, and at length mounted a strong battery, and particularly a mortar of large calibre, a shell thrown from which fell into an apartment in which the Countess and her children were at dinner. They escaped unhurt, and the heroine instantly ordered another sally, in which they were again worsted, and all their guns spiked, or thrown into the moat, except that mortar, which was triumphantly dragged into the house. This remarkable exploit was performed on the twenty-sixth of April, the very day fixed on by the rebels for a general assault, in which it had been determined to give no quarter. They were employed for several days in repairing their works, during which they were incessantly annoyed by the besieged, and had no sooner accomplished it, when the garrison once more dispersed them; again spiked their cannon; and killed one hundred of their soldiers, losing only three men, and five or six wounded. In most of all these affairs the Countess was personally present, and frequently in great danger. Her conduct united the most exemplary piety with the most determined courage. Every action was prefaced by devout prayer; every success acknowledged by humble thanksgiving.

More than three months had now passed since the commencement of the siege, in which the rebels confessed themselves to have lost two thousand men, when Fairfax, chagrined by its ill success, removed the officer who had hitherto commanded before Lathom, and appointed a Colonel Rigby, whose principal recommendation was a private enmity to the Earl of Derby. He had no sooner arrived than he manifested this disposition by a new summons to surrender, conveyed in affronting terms, to which the Countess herself replied—"Trumpet, tell that insolent rebel, Rigby, that if he presume to send another summons within this place, I will have the messenger hanged up at the gates."

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The garrison however was now reduced to the greatest distress. Their ammunition and their corn were spent, and they had killed for food nearly all their horses. The Earl now hastened from Man, to solicit relief for them, which Prince Rupert, who was then marching his army to York, was directed to give, and Rigby, on receiving intelligence of this expected succour, raised the siege on the twenty-seventh of May, 1644.

The Countess now accompanied her Lord in his return to the Isle of Man. On the fatal decline of the royal cause, his great estates were confiscated. He continued however to hold that island for the King with a firmness which the rebel Parliament, to its eternal disgrace, avenged by detaining his children, who came to England to solicit relief from it, on the faith of a pass from Fairfax, for eighteen months in the harshest captivity. The incomparable pair remained on the Island, protected and supported by its simple people, who adored them, till the fruitless enterprise of Charles the second in 1651, when the Earl flew to his aid, and perished in his cause. On the twelfth of October in that year, two days before he was beheaded by the rebels, he wrote the following exquisite letter to his Countess, inestimable in this place, inasmuch as it lays before us the most important features of her character, drawn by the dying hand of him who knew her best.

“ My dear Heart,

“ I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but alas I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on him with tears for mercy.

“ The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is general of

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the forces which are now going against the Isle of Man ; and, however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome thing to resist, especially those that at this hour command the three nations ; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is that you would make conditions for yourself, and children, and servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may get to some place of rest, where you may not be concerned in war, and, taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them : then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinion.

“ I conjure you, my dearest Heart, by all those graces that God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed ; and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children ; then take comfort, and God will bless you. I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you—so great an honour to my family—so excellent a companion to me—so pious—so much of all that can be said of good I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon with all my soul that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit ; and where I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon. I have no more to say to you at this time than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy—Amen, sweet Jesus !”

The unhappy Countess remained in Man, her little kingdom in her better days, ruling it in indigence ; her health broken down by grief, but her spirit still unsubdued. At length a wretch of the name of Christian, whom the Earl had cherished from his childhood, and to whom at his final departure he had committed the care of his lady and their offspring, as well as the command

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of the Infantry of the Island, betrayed it to the enemy. The Countess and her children were for a time rigorously imprisoned, but at length suffered to wander in obscurity, actually subsisting on the alms of their impoverished friends. Thus they languished till the Restoration, when the family estates returned of course into the possession of their eldest son. She passed the short remainder of her days at his seat at Knowsley Hall, in Lancashire, and dying there on the twenty-first of March, 1663, was buried at Ormskirk, in that county.



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

OB 1674

AT GEORGETOWN IN 1811

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF CLARENDON

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON.

FORTUNATELY for the interests of history, and not less fortunately for the honour of his memory, we possess the life of this truly great and good man from his own incomparable pen. Strange to say, to no other hand could it have been safely intrusted: he only, victim as he was to the fury of faction, and to the ingratitude of an unprincipled master, would have delivered it to us with impartiality. Gifted with a penetration into the characters of men and things so acute as to invest him with a sort of prescience of events which were to arise from their influence, and abiding therefore the consequences to himself of those events with a philosophic patience; with a magnanimity which spurned the petulant suggestions of vulgar resentment, and disdained the support of party; and, above all, with a love and reverence for truth which rendered him incapable of misrepresentation; he has recorded all the great scenes in which he acted with the moderation and candour of an indifferent and disinterested spectator. From that pure source therefore has the following humble and superficial memoir been almost wholly drawn.

Lord Clarendon, the third son of Henry Hyde, whose father was a cadet of the very ancient family of Hyde, of Norbury, in the county of Chester, by Mary, daughter and coheir of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge in Wiltshire, was born on the eighteenth of February, 1608-9. He was bred to the profession of the law, in which it may be said that he had a weighty family interest, for two of his uncles, Laurence and Nicholas, had attained to great eminence in it, especially the latter, who was at length raised to

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the station of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was educated at home till the age of thirteen, when he went to Magdalen College, in Oxford, and, having studied there, with little industry, as he himself informs us, for scarcely more than two years, was then entered of the Middle Temple, and called to the bar with as much expedition as the rules of the profession allow. He presently acquired extensive practice, but, having made two advantageous marriages, his first wife having lived only six months after their union, and becoming by the death of his elder brothers, heir apparent to his father, he might probably have retired into private life, but for an accident which introduced him to Archbishop Laud, whose favour and confidence he immediately gained. The increased respect which he derived in the courts from such a connection, the honest ambition which it perhaps excited, and the affection which he conceived for Laud, whom he believed, to use his own words, "to be a man of the most exemplary virtue and piety of any of that age," induced him to remain in London, and to prosecute his labours with increased earnestness. His professional skill and learning were now held in the highest estimation, and the various powers of his capacious mind, adorned by the exact honour and integrity of his moral life, rendered him the centre of a circle of the best and wisest men of the time, who were the constant companions of his leisure hours.

This was his state at the commencement of the Parliament which met on the third of April, 1640, and in which he was elected to serve for the borough of Wotton Bassett. The enlarged view which he was now enabled to take of the state of parties, added to the deliberate opinion which he had previously formed of the critical state of the country, determined him to relinquish his gown, and to devote himself wholly to the public service. He commenced his political career with an impartiality equal to the strength of his judgement, and an aversion to the abuses which had crept into the monarchy as fixed as his affection to

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the monarchy itself. Thus he earnestly proposed the abolition of the Earl Marshal's Court in the very opening of this short Parliament, and in that which succeeded, to which he was returned for Saltash, in Cornwall, reiterated and accomplished the measure. He became presently one of the most active members of the Commons, not in an ostentatious display of eloquence, in which however he was equal to any, but in the useful business of the House; and was chairman of most of the committees to which affairs of the highest importance were referred, especially of those which sat on the complaints against the Courts of York, and of the Marches of Wales; the conduct of the Judges, particularly in the case of ship money; and, above all, on the great question of suppressing episcopacy. The agitation of the latter measure, which he held in the utmost abhorrence, unveiled the views of the persons with whom he had thus far acted, and his own. They aimed at the overthrow of the Monarchy and Hierarchy; he at a judicious and temperate removal of their exuberances; to which having most conscientiously lent his powerful aid to the utmost, he abandoned a party with whom he could no longer act usefully without deceit and hypocrisy, and threw the weight of his wisdom and integrity into the scale of the Crown, at the very period when it had least power to reward his fidelity.

In addition to those powerful recommendations, his exact knowledge of the views and temper of the House of Commons rendered his advice at that period of the highest importance to the King, who now committed to him the management of his affairs in that assembly, jointly with the Lord Falkland, his dear friend, who had also recently seceded from the republicans, and Sir John Colepeper. The burthen of this employment, as well as the honour of Charles's confidence, fell chiefly on Mr. Hyde. To him was mostly left the secret correspondence with the King, who, early in the year 1642, soon after this arrangement had been made, went to York, and all the answers to the incessant

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petitions and remonstrances of the Parliament flowed from his luxuriant pen. In the course of the summer he joined the King at York, as well to avoid a threatened impeachment as in obedience to his Majesty's command, and was soon after specially excepted by a vote of both Houses from any general amnesty which might ensue in the event of an accommodation between the King and the Parliament. Charles's favour towards him kept pace with the malignity of the rebels. He had twice declined the office of Secretary of State, to the duties of which he thought himself incompetent, and had till this period served in no public capacity; but in the beginning of the year 1643 he was prevailed on to accept the appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was at the same time knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council. He sat in the Parliament assembled by the King at Oxford in the following January, and was the next winter a commissioner for the treaty of Uxbridge, in which Charles's hopes were chiefly founded on his endeavours, especially in all that related to the church.

The abortive result of that negotiation, and the increasing difficulties and dangers which surrounded the King, produced now a resolution to detach the Prince of Wales from his Majesty's person, lest they might fall together into the hands of the rebels. It was determined that he should retire into the west of England, and on the fourth of March, 1644, Hyde, who had shortly before been named one of the six who were to compose his council, took leave for the last time of the King; attended his Royal Highness to Bristol; and from thence, flying before Fairfax, into Cornwall, and finally to the isles of Scilly and Jersey. The Queen now accomplished a design which she had long cherished, and which he had earnestly opposed, to prevail that the Prince should reside with her in France, and Hyde, with others of the Council not less disgusted than himself by that step, declining to accompany him thither, remained in Jersey. Here he passed between two and three years in a sweet retirement, to the loss of which he

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ever after looked back with a mixture of satisfaction and regret. "He always took pleasure," to use the words of his own memoirs, written twenty-five years after, "in relating with what great tranquillity of spirit, though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children, he spent his time here amongst his books, which he got from Paris, and his papers, between which he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day; and it can hardly be believed how much he read and writ there; insomuch as he did usually compute that during his whole stay in Jersey he writ daily little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand." This passage, and therefore I have quoted it, is not without its value in the literary history of our country, for what can be insignificant that furnishes even the slightest anecdote relative to the composition of that glorious work which will preserve Lord Clarendon's fame when even his wisdom and purity as a minister shall be scarcely recollected? The fruit of the studies to which he alludes was the History of the Grand Rebellion, which was planned, and for the most part written, during his residence in the island of Jersey.

The peace of his retirement however was frequently interrupted. The Queen, who could not but dislike him because he had in many instances opposed her influence in public affairs, sought, though ineffectually, to sow discord between his royal master and himself, and his pen was still occasionally employed in answering the furious votes and declarations of the Parliament. At length in the spring of 1648 he received the command both of the King and Queen to join the Prince, at Paris, and, in following his Royal Highness by sea to Holland, whither he had suddenly removed, was captured by some frigates of Ostend, and afterwards so detained by bad weather, that he arrived not at the Hague till the end of August. Here, disgusted by the intrigues and animosities of the Prince's little Court, which for some time he strove in vain to compose, and at length paralysed by the news of the King's murder, he gladly accepted the empty

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commission of Ambassador extraordinary to Madrid, jointly with the Lord Cottington, and, taking Paris in his way thither, became somewhat reconciled to the Queen, who then resided at St. Germain. His mission, the object of which it is almost needless to say was to solicit the support of Spain to Charles's forlorn throne, proved fruitless, and after remaining there for several months, he was dismissed by an order from the Court, on the arrival of the news of Cromwell's successes in Scotland, Charles's unfortunate visit to which country had been undertaken against his opinion. He now, in July 1651, established his residence at Antwerp, where he had fixed his family on his departure for Madrid.

The King, on arriving at Paris after his escape from Worcester, committed his shattered affairs almost wholly to the management of Sir Edward Hyde, and never was the favour of the most powerful and wealthy Prince resented with keener envy and jealousy. His policy too, which was to wait patiently for a favourable change of opinion in England, was opposed by the whole Court, except by his fast friend the Marquis of Ormond; and the Queen, who had again become his implacable enemy, gladly aided the projects of his enemies. The Papists, the Presbyterians, and the old loyalists of the Church of England, united against him, and prepared petitions for his removal, which the firm expressions of the King, who had been apprised of the design, prevented their presenting. At length in 1653, a Mr. Robert Long, who served the King under the title of Secretary of State, accused him in form to the Council of corresponding with Cromwell, and receiving a pension from him, a charge which ended in the confusion of the informant, and the appointment of Hyde to his office. New intrigues against him of less importance succeeded, and in fact formed the whole history of the banished Court for some years while it followed the wanderings of the King in Germany and Flanders, till Charles, as it seems, crushed the hopes of these petty factions by delivering to Sir Edward the

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Great Seal, with the title of Lord Chancellor, on the death of the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert, one of the most bitter of his enemies. This mark of the King's complete favour and confidence was bestowed on him at Bruges, in the Christmas week of the year 1657.

Cromwell died in the succeeding autumn, and the first glimpse of the restoration dawned amid the confusion which followed. Of the numerous circumstances of the Chancellor's extensive concern in the accomplishment of that great event it would be impossible here to treat. He had ever advised Charles to reject all proposals to replace him on the throne which might be grounded on alterations and novelties in the government either of the Church or State, the maintenance of which in their fullest integrity was the first principle in all his negotiations with the various parties by the agreement of which the happy change was at length wrought; and he had now the satisfaction to witness the re-erection of those venerable fabrics in all their former strength and splendor. In the meantime he left untouched those salutary corrections to which himself in the opening of his political life had so largely contributed, and suffered the High Commission Court, the Earl Marshal's Court, and the Star-chamber, those mighty engines of Kingly and ministerial power, to remain in the dust to which the late excesses had levelled them; neither did he endeavour to repeal the acts for triennial Parliaments; for the prohibition of tonnage, poundage, ship-money, or other abuses which had crept unwarrantably into the royal prerogative. In the same spirit of wisdom, moderation, and justice, he had the courage to institute, and forward to his utmost, the bill of indemnity, and the bill for uniformity of worship, certain to provoke the enmity of the royalists by the one, and of the presbyterians by the other, and of each he had in the end abundance of bitter experience.

Among the first marks of royal favour and gratitude, dispensed after the King's arrival were those bestowed on the Chancellor.

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by whom they had been so highly merited. He was presented with grants, but to no immoderate value, of Crown lands. Other valuable gifts were also assigned to him, and among them a sum of twenty thousand pounds, which he received from the King's own hand, and another of twenty-five thousand, charged on the forfeited estates in Ireland, of which last however no more than six thousand were ever paid. He held for some time, together with the Great Seal, the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary of State, and was afterwards elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of that County. The King's entire confidence, as well as the whole weight of administration, rested on him, and in addition to this burthen, Charles, who knew not how to deny, and durst not promise unless he could perform, left it to him to satisfy, or rather to dissatisfy, the multitude of claims urged on the score of suffering loyalty. He became presently therefore an object not only of envy but of disgust, and the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of York, which is treated of at large in another part of this work, and which became publicly known soon after the restoration, would probably have been the first signal of a storm against him, had not the King, almost in the instant, damped for the time the hopes of his enemies by new testimonies of esteem. In November 1660 he was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wilts, and, in the following April, Viscount of Cornbury, a manor in Oxfordshire lately granted to him, and Earl of Clarendon. To these dignities the King earnestly wished to have added the order of the Garter, which the Chancellor, perhaps not less careless of the distinction than anxious to avoid the jealousy that his acceptance of it might provoke, positively declined.

It was not long however before a faction was regularly arrayed against him. Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and Mr. William Coventry, a younger son of the late Lord Keeper, who might without injustice be styled political adventurers, had insinuated themselves into the King's favour by

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proposing new projects for the management of the House of Commons, and undertaking to carry them into execution. The Chancellor, who disliked artifice, and abhorred corruption, discouraged their proceedings, and those persons, of whom the one excelled in dissimulation, and the other in boldness, contrived, without uttering a single expression of resentment or disrespect, to weaken the King's affection towards him. They were joined by the Duchess of Cleveland, the favourite mistress, who could scarcely be expected to entertain any regard for a man of the Chancellor's character, and others, who had waited only for leaders under whom to make the attack, readily lent their aid. Among them was George Digby, Earl of Bristol, a furious and eccentric person, to whose fidelity Charles, in his late tedious season of necessity, had owed some obligations, and with whom Clarendon had lived in intimacy and confidence. Bristol, before the plans of the party were matured, on some sudden pique, accused the Chancellor in a vague and unprepared manner to the House of Peers of high treason, and delivered in a list of articles charging him chiefly with having procured undue favour to the Papists, to whose persuasion it is singular that Bristol himself should have been lately reconciled, and with having negotiated the late sale of Dunkirk to the French, with which in fact the Chancellor seems to have had no concern but as an individual member of the Council in which that measure was resolved on, indeed rather against his judgement. This blow, for the time, was ineffectual. The Peers treated it with contempt, and the King with apparent anger. He overwhelmed the Chancellor with professions of esteem and confidence, while his mind secretly teemed with a disgust not infused by the late impotent proceeding, but by the incessant private efforts of Bennet, Coventry, and their associates, and Clarendon's sagacity discovered daily proofs of the decline of his interest, perhaps before it was suspected even by his enemies. Thus he stood at the close of the year 1663.

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But the approach, slow as it was, of their victory soon became evident to the whole Court, and they employed all means, even the most despicable, to accelerate it. When Charles returned from his new counsellors, full fraught with graver prejudices, the Duke of Buckingham, at the head of a party of buffoons, entertained him in the private apartments with ridicule and mimicry of the Chancellor. They commonly called him the King's schoolmaster, and, "if the King," says Lord Clarendon himself, "said he would go such a journey, or do such a trivial thing to-morrow, somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it, and when he asked 'why' it was answered, 'that the Chancellor would not let him,' &c. Nay, it was usual for Buckingham to parade about the Room, imitating his gait and demeanour, and carrying a pair of bellows for the Great Seal, Colonel Titus walking before him, with a fire-shovel on his shoulder, as the mace. In the meantime his inflexible integrity forwarded the views of his enemies. The acute and unprincipled Lord Ashley, better known afterwards as Earl of Shaftesbury, threw himself into their ranks in revenge for the Chancellor's having refused to put the Seal to an unconstitutional patent devised solely for the emolument of that nobleman, and the King burst at length into plain expressions of anger on his honest opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience contrived in 1664 between the papists and presbyterians.

The effect of these evils was greatly enhanced by the natural cast of the Chancellor's temper. The gravity and independence of his spirit, contrasted as it now was to unceasing gaiety and flattery, became intolerable to Charles. He tells us himself too, speaking of an earlier part of his life that "he was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing, very troublesome," and it is clear that the King when these ebullitions prevailed was often personally treated with very little ceremony. Charles, explaining the causes of his disgust in a letter to the Duke of Ormond, Clarendon's

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firm friend, charges him with "a certain peevishness of temper," and the Chancellor himself, in a curious expostulatory original addressed to the King, remaining in the Harleian collection, writes—"I do upon my knees begg your pardon for any bold or sawcy expressions I have ever used to you," and tacitly denies all other causes of offence. To counterbalance this solitary ground of reasonable umbrage Clarendon had nothing to plead but consummate wisdom, and the purest integrity, qualities now held in little estimation in Charles's Court or Council.

The King, though his affections had become at length totally alienated, was long before he could prevail on himself to dismiss this great minister. The small faction however which had poisoned his mind had exerted itself not less successfully in the Parliament, and the country, always ready to be misled, caught the infection. Clarendon, without a fault or error, became gradually the most unpopular man in the Kingdom. A vulgar outcry ascribed to him all the qualities most disgraceful to a statesman, and all the mishaps that had occurred since the restoration, insomuch that the King, had he again received him into favour, could scarcely have retained him in office. Of this public prejudice, the result of his own folly and ingratitude, Charles now meanly availed himself to cloak the shame of discharging such a servant. He visited the Chancellor; loaded him with acknowledgements of his wise and faithful services; lamented the aversion which the House of Commons had conceived against him, and his own inability to protect him against the frightful consequences of it; and besought him, as his only means of safety, to resign the Seal. Clarendon refused with a dignified respect, and assigned his reasons; and on the thirtieth of August, 1667, four days after, surrendered it in obedience to the King's express command.

He now believed, to use his own words, "that the storm had been over, for he had not the least apprehension of the displea-

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sure of the Parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him," but he was presently painfully undeceived. The King, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons, openly censured him, and, to save himself future trouble, employed secret emissaries to persuade him to quit the Kingdom. The Chancellor, with a courage inspired by conscious innocence, stoutly refused. It was at length determined that he should be accused of high treason, and a charge was prepared by a committee of the Commons, consisting of seventeen articles, the most material of which were notoriously false, and the rest wholly frivolous, in which, after long debate, the House determined that nothing treasonable could be found; yet it was resolved that he should be impeached of that crime, which was immediately done at the Lord's bar by Mr., afterwards Sir Edward, Seymour, with a demand that he should be sequestered from that House, and his person secured. The Peers refused to receive the accusation unless some particular charge were exhibited against him, and the Commons, conscious of the weakness of their case, insisted on their right to impeach generally. A long and sharp contest on this question arose between the two Houses, which was at length terminated by the King, who, fearing, as it should seem, that amidst this confusion the Chancellor might escape unhurt, specially commanded him to withdraw himself into a foreign country.

As he had resolved not to quit England but by the order of his master, so on receiving that order he instantly obeyed it. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1667, this illustrious exile embarked in a miserable boat, in the middle of the night, at Erith, and, after remaining at sea amidst the inconveniences and dangers of the worst weather for three days and nights, landed at Calais. He left behind him a representation at large to the House of Peers of his conduct since the restoration, composed with all the simplicity and modest courage of conscious innocence and truth; such however was the rage of the prevailing

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party that it was presently publicly burned, by order of both Houses. They strove to proceed against him for high treason by attainder, but this was prevented by the influence of the King, who, by way of compromise, agreed to a bill of banishment, which was passed in great haste. In the mean time, Buckingham and Arlington, with the most disgraceful malice, pressed the Court of France to forbid his residence in that country, where he passed a considerable time under the continual inspection of an officer sent specially from Paris to remove him as soon as he might recover from a long fit of illness, in the midst of which he was attacked at an inn at Evreux by a brutal mob of English sailors, who believed that he had ruined their country, and narrowly escaped with life, after suffering severe personal injuries. At this period a change in French politics produced a permission that he might remain in that country, and he settled shortly after at Montpellier, where he arrived in July, 1668, and remained nearly for three years.

His first leisure in this retirement was dedicated to the composition of a vindication at large of his ministry, in which he answered severally the charges which had been preferred against him by the House of Commons. This remarkable apology, which was soon after published, he transmitted to his son, Laurence, afterwards Earl of Rochester, who took a speedy opportunity to offer to that House in express terms a challenge, which never was accepted, to prove any one of the allegations. Here closed Clarendon's political life, and here commenced the better and happier days which he consecrated to posterity. "In all this retirement," to use his own words, "he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exertitions of his own. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, 'the History of the late civil wars,

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and transactions to the time of the King's return in the year 1660.' He finished his 'Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David,' which he dedicated to his children. He wrote and finished his 'Answer to Mr. Hobbes his Leviathan.' He wrote a good volume of 'Essays, divine, moral, and political,' to which he was always adding. He prepared 'a Discourse historical of the pretence and practice of the successive Popes, from the beginning of the Jurisdiction they assume.' He entered upon the forming 'a Method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been.'"

In addition to the works thus enumerated, we have likewise the following pieces from his pen—An Answer to the declaration of the House of Commons in 1648 that they would make no more addresses to the King—The Difference and Disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex, printed in the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*—Animadversions on Mr. Cressy's book called 'Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted'—A History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland—A collection of the Orders heretofore used in Chancery—A Collection of Tracts, published from his original manuscripts in 1727; several of his letters, printed in the *Life of Dr. Barwick*; and many of his speeches in Parliament after the Restoration, which appeared separately. It is scarcely necessary to add to this list the supplement to his sublime History of the Grand Rebellion, which bears the title of his Life, and from which the contents of these sheets have been derived.

Lord Clarendon removed in 1671 to Moulines, and from thence to Rouen, where he died on the ninth of December, 1674. He was, as has been already stated, twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Wiltshire, who died childless; secondly, to Frances, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas

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Aylesbury, Bart., a Master of Requests, by whom he had four sons ; Henry, his successor ; Laurence, created Earl of Rochester ; Edward, and James, who died unmarried ; and two daughters ; Anne, married to James Duke of York ; and Frances, to Sir Thomas Keighley, of Hartingfordbury in Herts, Knight of the Bath.



ELIZABETH CECIL, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE

OR 1639

II. FIGHT BOX - THE FARE OF FOREMONT

ELIZABETH CECIL,

COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

THIS Lady was the second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, by Catharine, youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and Lord Treasurer. Little is known of her, than that she was distinguished by the most exquisite beauty; but the unceasing attachment of her excellent husband, and the silence of scandal in an age and court not sparing of censure, leave little doubt that her character was at least blameless. William, third Earl of Devonshire, that great ornament to the name of Cavendish, alluding to to whose fine person Hobbes, his tutor, prayed that "God might give him virtues suitable to the fair dwelling he had prepared for them;" and of whom the respectable biographer of a part of his family has said that "he was seasoned with the just tincture of all private and public worth;" returning from his travels in 1637, was captivated by her charms, and soon after made her his wife. The match was little pleasing to his family. The Earl of Salisbury was not rich; burthened with a most numerous offspring; and of a character different from that of his son-in-law, even to contrariety. Salisbury was deficient in all the worthy and amiable relations of private life, and totally without public principles, or even prejudices: Devonshire was a pattern of honour, politeness, and loyalty. An union formed under circumstances so unpropitious afforded but a doubtful prospect of happy results. The ardent passion however of this youthful pair seems to have subsided gradually into that nameless species of mutual affection which sometimes blesses and adorns the connubial state, and is never found to exist in any other form.

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of human relation. They lived together nearly half a century. The Earl died on the twenty-third of November, 1684, and she survived him till the sixteenth of the same month, in the year 1689, and was buried, on the twenty-second, in a large vault, under the east window of Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, known by the name of the Ormond vault, in which the body of Oliver Cromwell lay, till it was removed soon after the restoration.

This Lady brought to the Earl two sons: William, afterwards eminently conspicuous in the public affairs of his time, who, on the twelfth of May, 1694, was created Duke of Devonshire, and Marquis of Hartington, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; and a second son, Charles, born in 1655, who died unmarried about 1670. She left also one daughter, Anne, married first to Charles Lord Rich, only son to Charles, the last Earl of Warwick of his family; secondly, to her kinsman, John Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter. To this lady Prior addressed a poem of some length, which may be found in his works, inscribed "to the Countess of Exeter, playing on the Lute," which commences thus—

"What charms you have, from what high race you sprung,
Have been the pleasing objects of my song;
Unskill'd and young, yet something still I writ
Of Candish' beauty, joined to Cecil's wit:

If the poet meant, in the conclusion of the last of these lines, to allude to the wit of her mother, and it is difficult to conceive that he could have had any other meaning, the passage lends some aid to the intention of this scanty memoir.



CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK

OR 1515

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

CHARLES BRANDON,

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

THIS fortunate and gallant man was the son of William, or, as he is generally styled, Sir William Brandon, (though it is doubtful whether he was a knight) by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Bruyn, and widow of a gentleman of the name of Mallory. It may be said that he had an hereditary claim on the friendship and gratitude of Henry the Eighth, for his father had appeared among the first assertors of the late King's title to the throne; had forfeited an ample patrimony, and joined that prince in his exile in Britany; returned with him to England; and fell in Bosworth field, where he bore the standard of the House of Lancaster, in the very hour which seemed to promise him the brightest fortunes. He was slain by the hand of royal Richard himself.

Charles became in every sense a ward of the Crown; was bred in the Court, and chosen by the King as one of the more familiar attendants on the person of his heir. He must have been at least five years older than the Prince, for his father died in 1486, and the young Henry was not born till 1491. It is probable then that he became rather the director than the companion, as he has generally been called, of his master's amusements: and that the observation too which somewhat riper years perhaps enabled him, even at that time, to make on Henry's disposition might have laid the foundation of that uninterrupted security in which for so many years he alone enjoyed constantly the Royal favour. With a sufficient understanding for higher spheres of action, he seems, and indeed in such a reign it was a proof of his sagacity, to have adopted by choice the character of a mere courtier; but he moved in it with a rare dignity, and envy, malice, and duplicity seem to have been unknown to him. "The gallants of the Court," says

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Lord Herbert, in his history of the year 1513, " finding now the King's favour shining manifestly on Wolsey, applied themselves much to him ; and especially Charles Brandon, who, for his goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes." This is the sole record against him of any thing like subservience or flattery.

Henry, on mounting the throne, appointed him one of the Esquires of the Body, and Chamberlain of the Principality of Wales. In 1513 he first appeared in warlike service ; was present in that desperate action with a French squadron which occurred early in the spring of that year off Brest ; and on his return was created a Peer, by the title of Viscount L'Isle. That dignity was conferred on him on the fifteenth of May, and on the last day of June he embarked with Henry on that invasion of France which was distinguished by the successful siege of Therouënne, and by the action vulgarly called the Battle of Spurs, in a supposed allusion to the swiftness with which the French fled from the field, but which in fact obtained its name from the village of Spours, near which it was fought. He commanded the vanguard of the English army in that service, after which he marched with the King into Flanders, where, having reduced Tournay, they were met at Lisle, and splendidly entertained by the Emperor Maximilian. Here he is said not only to have made some impression on the heart of that monarch's daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, but even to have aspired to her hand. " I find," says Herbert again, " some overture of a match between Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, and the princess Margaret ; which, though it took no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part." He was destined however to obtain a consort yet more illustrious. The Princess Mary second sister to Henry, had been married in the autumn of 1514 to Louis the Twelfth of France ; a political union of youth and beauty to debilitated old age. Brandon, now Duke of

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Suffolk, having been so created on the first of the preceding February, was sent, with the flower of the English nobility, to grace the nuptials : and it has been said, that his skill and courage in the jousts which formed a part of the celebration, and which chanced to be contended with more than usual fierceness, captivated the affections of the Queen. It is more reasonable however to suppose, nor is the conjecture altogether unsupported by historical evidence, that she had flattered his hopes long before she quitted England. Be the fact as it may, the good Louis died within three months after his marriage, and his youthful Dowager, within very few days after, was secretly married to the Duke of Suffolk, which ceremony was publicly repeated soon after at Calais, and, finally, at Greenwich, on the thirteenth of May, 1515.

It is difficult to reconcile Henry's conduct to his character with regard to this affair. He made at first a slight shew of resentment, but was presently appeased, and the return of his favour was accompanied by a grant to the Duke of the great estates which had formerly belonged to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Is it possible that friendship and love could have extorted this tribute from haughtiness and tyranny, or was it the result of mere policy, cold in its motives, and accidentally just in its consequence? We can perhaps have no better clue to the solution of the question than in Lord Herbert's account of this, the most important circumstance of the Duke's life, which take in the words of the historian, who, in speaking of the treaty of peace then pending with France, for which Suffolk was the first plenipotentiary, concludes thus—"Together with the proposing of this treaty, our King sent a letter to the Queen, his sister, wherein he desired to know how she stood affected to her return to England; desiring her withal not to match without his consent. She, on the other side, who had privately engaged her affections to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover herself to both Kings," (meaning Francis the First, who had succeeded her late husband, and her brother Henry) "intreating

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Francis to mediate this marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, though once intending to propose a match between her and the Duke of Savoy; but our King, for the conservation of his dignity, held a little off: however, he had long since designed her to Suffolk. The Queen also, believing that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting, as appears by an original, that if the King would have her married in any place save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious house. Thus, without any great pomp, being secretly married, the Queen writ letters of excuse to the King her brother, taking the fault, if any were, on herself: and together for the more clearing the Duke of Suffolk, professed that she prefixed the space of four days to him, in which, she said, unless he could obtain her good will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her: whereby, as also through the good office of Francis, who, fearing that our King by her means should contract some greater alliance, did further this marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; Wolsey also not a little contributing thereto, while he told our King how much better bestowed she was on him than on some person of quality in France." Suffolk, in addition to the probable advantages of this affinity to the throne, derived immense wealth from his marriage to Mary. Her jointure was sixty thousand crowns annually, and the personal property which she was allowed to bring to England was estimated at two hundred thousand, together with a celebrated diamond, of immense price, called "le Miroir de Naples."

In 1515, on some occasion of disgust between him and Wolsey, he retired for a considerable time into the country: but Henry loved him too well to sacrifice him to the favourite, and the duke, on his part, had too much nobleness of spirit to oppose Wolsey by any other means than those of an honest and open resentment, which seems ever after to have subsisted. He returned to the Court with unimpaired favour: was among the first of Henry's

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gallant companions in the romantic festivities of 1520, which distinguished the King's famous interview with Francis the First in Picardy: and in 1523 invaded France at the head of twelve thousand men. The circumstances of that expedition afford a curious proof of the imperfection of the military economy of those days, even in the two greatest military powers of Europe: for, while the utmost efforts of the French were insufficient to prevent that small force, aided by eight thousand Germans, from penetrating within eleven leagues of Paris, Suffolk, on the other hand, having gained that mighty advantage, found himself obliged to retrace his steps precipitately to Calais, to save his men from dying of hunger. Henry was highly displeased at this retreat, and the Duke wisely deferred his voyage to England till he had appeased his master's choler.

In the eventful period which shortly followed he became unavoidably an actor in the great scenes which distinguished it. He was a witness in 1529 in the enquiry on which the King grounded his claim of divorce from Catherine; subscribed to the articles preferred by the Parliament against Wolsey; and also to the declaration addressed by the Peers in the same Parliament to Pope Clement the Seventh, by which they threatened to abolish the supremacy of the Holy See in England, should the Pontiff deny his consent to the dissolution of the marriage. He fell indeed into all the measures which led to the reformation with a readiness which, if it were not the result of insincerity, might perhaps, at best, be ascribed to an indifference as to all modes of religious faith; and Henry afterwards rewarded his compliance by grants of abbey lands to a vast amount. In 1536 he commanded the troops which were then hastily raised to march against the insurgents of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and in 1544 once more attended Henry to France, and was appointed General of the army sent to besiege Boulogne, which he reduced after a siege of six weeks. His health was probably at that time declining, for he made his will immediately before his departure,

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and died on the fourteenth of August, in the following year. By that instrument, which is dated the twentieth of June, 1544, he orders that a cup of gold should be made of his collar of the Garter, and given to the King; that the ceremonies of his funeral should be conducted with a frugality and plainness very unusual at that time; to use his own words, "without any pomp, or outward pride of the world;" and that his body should be buried in the collegiate church of Tatteshall, in Lincolnshire. He was interred, however, with great magnificence, by the special command of the King, and at his charge, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The Duke, at the time of his death, held the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests, and Great Master (or, as we now say, Lord Steward) of the Royal Household, and these appear to have been the only public appointments of note that were at any time conferred on him. He had been four times married. First, to Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis Montacute, and widow of Sir John Mortimer, from whom he was divorced, apparently at her suit, because he had, previously to their nuptials, privately signed a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Lieutenant of Calais. He took that Lady to his second wife, and had by her two daughters; Anne, born before marriage, who became the wife of Edward, Lord Powis; and Mary, who married Thomas, Lord Monteagle. The Queen Dowager of France brought him a son, Henry, who was created Earl of Lincoln, and died young; and two daughters, Eleanor, wife of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Frances, married, first to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and then to Adrian Stokes. By his fourth Lady, Catherine, daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, he had two sons, Henry and Charles, who survived him only for the space of six years, for they died of the sweating sickness, at the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Bugden, on the same day, the fourteenth of July, 1551.

The original of the following short letter from the Duke, and

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his last Duchess, to Lord Cobham, then Governor of Calais, is in the Harleian collection. I insert it merely as a specimen of the familiar epistolary style of him who was esteemed the most polite nobleman of his time.

“ After my right hartie comendac^ons to yo^r good Lordshipp, w^t like thanks aswell for yo^r gentell l^re dyrected to me from Callays of the xviith of this instant, as also for yo^r qwailes, which this p^rsent mornyng I have receyved by yo^r servant. And where you desier to knowe in what p^rt in Kent I shall remayn, to th^entent you wold from tyme to tyme signifye to me of such newes as be currant ther, for yo^r soo doing I geve unto you most harty thanks. For aunswere wherunto you shall understand that, as far as I knowe yet, I shall demure in this town: but, whersoev^r I shall be, you shall have knowlege therof from tyme to tyme. I fynde myself moch beholding to my Lady, yo^r bedfellow, who hath sent me venison, and made me good chere.

“ Also, as tuching Lightmaker; for a complaynt that he shuld make: By my trouth, my Lord, beleve me he nev^r complayned to me of any suche matt^r; but indede he told me that the displeashur that was was for that another of his countrey wold have taken away his men; and, as long as he shall behave hymself honestly, I hartley desier you to beare and owe unto hym yo^r good wyll and favor, for my sake; and, yf he doo otherwyse, then to be unto hym no woorse thenne you wold be to another. Thus fare yo^r Lordshipp right hartely well. From Rochester, the xixth of June.

Yo^r Lordshipp's assured freend,

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.”

“ MY LORD,

Wth my harté thanks for yo^r gentle remembrans, I lekewys mayk to you my harté comendesens.

Yo^r pouer frend,

KATHERINE SUFFOLKE.”



KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

OB. 1553

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF LORIMORE

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH,

THE son of Henry the Eighth by Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court on the 12th of October, 1537, and died at Greenwich on the sixth of July, 1553.

The annals of this Prince present little more to our view than the strange events which attended the struggle between Seymour and Dudley for the possession of his person and authority. The bloody war with Scotland, and the dangerous insurrections which succeeded at home, occupied the ardent minds and employed the talents of those chiefs during the first two years of his reign ; but the return of national peace gave birth to the bitterest discord between them ; and their wisdom and bravery, which in the late public exigencies had shone resplendently in the council and in the field, presently sank into the contracted cunning and petty malice of factious politicians. The Protector sought to intrench himself in the strong hold of popular favour, and was perhaps the first English nobleman who endeavoured to derive power or security from that source : his antagonist, too proud and too artful to engage in an untried scheme, humiliating in its progress and uncertain in its event, threw himself into the arms of a body of discontented Nobles, lamenting the fallen dignity of the Crown, and the tarnished honour of their order. He proved successful : the Protector was accused of High Treason, and suffered on the scaffold, and the young King was transferred to Dudley, together with the regal power.

These circumstances, well known as they are, will be found to throw a new lustre on Edward's character. In this convulsed time, so adverse to every sort of improvement either in the mind, or less important accomplishments of the youthful Prince, under

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the disadvantages of an irregular education, a slighted authority, and a sickly constitution ; he made himself master of the most eminent qualifications. With an almost critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he understood and conversed in French, Spanish and Italian. He was well read in natural philosophy, astronomy, and logic. He imitated his father in searching into the conduct of public men in every part of his dominions, and kept a register in which he wrote the characters of such persons, even to the rank of Justices of the Peace. He was well-informed of the value and exchange of money. He is said to have been master of the theory of military arts, especially fortification ; and was acquainted with all the ports in England, France, and Scotland, their depth of water, and their channels. His journal, recording the most material transactions of his reign from its very commencement, the original of which, written by his own hand, remains in the Cotton Library, proves a thirst for the knowledge not only of political affairs at home and of foreign relations, but of the laws of his realm, even to municipal and domestic regulations comparatively insignificant, which, at his age, was truly surprising. "This child," says the famous Cardan, who frequently conversed with him, "was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man ; and in him was such an attempt of Nature, that not only England but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away."

With these great endowments, which too frequently produce haughty and ungracious manners, we find Edward mild, patient, beneficent, sincere, and affable ; free from all the faults, and uniting all the perfections, of the sovereigns of his family who preceded or followed him : courageous and steady, but humane and just ; bountiful, without profusion ; pious, without bigotry ; graced with a dignified simplicity of conduct in common affairs, which suited his rank as well as his years ; and artlessly obeying the impulses of his perfect mind, in assuming, as occasions required,

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the majesty of the Monarch; the gravity of the statesman, and the familiarity of the gentleman.

Such is the account invariably given of Edward the Sixth; derived from no blind respect for the memory of his father, whose death relieved his people from the scourge of tyranny; without hope of reward from himself, whose person never promised manhood; with no view of paying court to his successor, who abhorred him as an heretic, or to Elizabeth, whose title to the throne he had been in his dying moments persuaded to deny; but dictated solely by a just admiration of the charming qualities which so wonderfully distinguished him, and perfectly free from those motives to a base partiality, which too often guide the biographer's pen when he treats of the characters of Princes. Concerning his person, Sir John Hayward informs us that "he was in body beautiful; of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them."—This description is fully justified by the present copy of his portrait.

The Journal however kept by this regal child, which has been already slightly mentioned, is so highly illustrative of important parts of his character, and corroborates in so many instances the reports which we have derived from his eulogists, that it would be blameable to suffer these notices of him to go forth unaccompanied by a specimen at least of a document so extraordinary. We will take for this purpose, without any care of selection, his entries for the months of July and August, 1551, made when he was in his fourteenth year.

JULY.

"1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men of war, looking for eighteen more men of war, went to Diép, as it was thought, to take Monsieur le Mareschal by the way, order was given that six ships being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go, both to conduct him, and also to defend if any thing should be attempted against England

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by carrying over the Lady Mary.—2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledge to Monsieur le Mareschal of the Flemings coming, to whom all the Flemings veiled their bonnet. Also the French Ambassador was advertized, who answered that he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.—2. There was a proclamation signed for shortening the fall of the money to that day, in which it should be proclaimed and devised that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.—3. The Lord Clinton and Cobham was appointed to meet the French at Gravesend, and so to convey him to Duresme Place, where he should lie.—4. I was banqueted by the Lord Clinton at Deptford, where I saw the Primrose and the Mary Willoughby launched. The Frenchmen landed at Rye, as some thought for fear of the Flemings, lying at the Land's End, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.—6. Sir Peter Meutas, at Dover, was commanded to come to Rye, to meet Monsieur le Mareschal, who so did; and after he had delivered my letters, written with mine own hand, and made my recommendations, he took order for horses and carts for Monsieur le Mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be for the sudden.—7. Monsieur le Mareschal set forth from Rye, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of 1000 Horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maidstone that night.—7. Removing to Westminster.—8. Monsieur le Mareschal came to Mr. Baker's, where he was well feasted and banqueted.—9. The same came to my Lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend. Proclamation was made that a testourn should go at 9^d, and a groat at 3^d, in all places of the realm at once. At this time came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat; for if one took cold he died within three hours; and if he escaped it held him but nine hours, or ten at the most: also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he

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roved, and should die roving.—11. It grew so much; for in London the 10th day there died 100 in the liberties, and this day 120; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my groomes, fell sick and died; that I removed to Hampton Court, with very few with me. The same night came the Mareschal, who was saluted with all my ships being in the Thames, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordnance of the Tower. He was met by the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravesend, and so brought to Duresme Place.—13. Because of the infection at London he came this day to Richmond, where he lay, with a great band of gentlemen, at least 400, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.”

“July 14. He came to me at Hampton Court at nine of the clock, being met by the Duke of Somerset at the wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where, after his Master's recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the Queen's side, all hanged with cloth of Arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but also for to declare the great friendship the King his master bore me, which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to a son, or brother to brother; and although there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the King his master's friendship, and witless men made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them: furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm; for which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by hand-strokes, but rather by commissioners' talk. I answered him that I thanked him for his order, and also his love, &c. and I would shew love in all points. For rumours, they were not always to be believed; and that I did sometime provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with

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words than do any thing by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richmond again.—17. He came to present the Order of Monsieur Michael, where, after with ceremonies accustomed he had put on the garments, he and Monsieur Gye, likewise of the Order, came, one at my right hand, the other at my left, to the Chapel; where, after the Communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek. After that they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.”

“ 18. A proclamation made against regraters and forestallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all officers and sheriffs for the executing thereof.—19. Another proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhancing of the coin, to make things dear withal. The same night Monsieur le Mareschal St. André supped with me: after supper saw a dozen courses; and, after, I came, and made me ready.—20, the next morning, he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bedchamber, and went a hunting with hounds, and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together. He dined with me; heard me play on the lute; ride; came to me to my study; supped with me; and so departed to Richmond.—

19. The Scots sent an Ambassador hither for receiving the treaty, sealed with the Great Seal of England, which was delivered him. Also I sent Sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty, at Northampton.

—17. This day my Lord Marquess and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered, by later instructions, 600'000 crowns; after, 400'000; and so departed for an hour. Then, seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200'000 crownes, half to be paid at the marriage, half six months after that. Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10'000 marks of lawful money of England. Thirdly, it was agreed that if I died she should not have the dote, saying they did that for friendship's sake, without precedent.—19. The

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Lord Marquess having received and delivered again the treaty, sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest. At this time there was a bickering at Parma between the French and the Papists: for Monsieur de Thermes, Petro Strozzi, and Fontivello, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with fifteen hundred soldiers, entered Parma. Gonzaga, with the Emperor's and Pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the Prince of Macedonia, and the Signor Baptista, the Popes nephew.—22. Mr. Sidney made one of the four chief gentlemen.—23. Monsieur le Mareschal came to me, declaring the King his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty, and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented Monsieur Bois Dolphine to be Ambassador here, as my Lord Marquess the 19th day did present Mr. Pickering.—26. Monsieur le Mareschal dined with me; after dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth by estimation 150^l, both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.—27. He came to a hunting to tell me the news, and shew me the letter his master had sent him; and doubtless of Monsieur Termes' and Marignan's letters, being Ambassador with the Emperor.—28. Monsieur le Mareschal came to dinner in Hyde Park, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the coursing there.—30. He came to the Earl of Warwick's; lay there one night; and was well received.—29. He had his reward, being worth 3000^l. in gold, of current money; Monsieur de Gye, 1000^l; Monsieur Chenault, 1000^l; Monsieur Movillier, 500^l; the Secretary, 500^l; and the Bishop of Peregrueux, 500^l."

AUGUST.

"3. Monsieur le Mareschal departed to Bologne, and had certain of my ships to conduct him thither.—9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at Richmond, to commune of my sister Mary's matter: who at length agreed that it was not

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meet to be suffered any longer ; making thereof an instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed, to be on record.—11. The Lord Marquess, with the most of his band, came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.—12. Letters sent for Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, to come the 13th day, but they came not till another letter was sent to them the 13th day.—14. My Lord Marquess's reward was delivered at Paris, worth 500^l ; my Lord of Ely's, 200^l ; and Mr. Hobbey's, 150^l ; the rest, all about one scantling. Rochester, &c. had commandment neither to hear, nor to suffer, any kind of service but the common and orders set forth at large by Parliament ; and had a letter to my Lady's house from my Council for their credit ; another to herself from me. Also appointed that I should come and sit at Council when great matters were debating, or when I would. This last month Monsieur de Termes, with 500 Frenchmen, came to Parma, and entered safely : afterwards, certain issued out of the town, and were overthrown ; as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro, and others were taken, and some slain : after, they gave a skirmish ; entered the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tents, and returned.—15. Sir Robert Dudley and Barnabé sworn two of the six ordinary gentlemen. The last month the Turks' navy won a little castle in Sicily.—17. Instructions sent to Sir James Croftes for divers purposes, whose copy is in the Secretary's hands. The Testourn cried down from 9^d to 6^d ; the great from 3^d to 2^d ; the 2^d to 1^d ; the penny to a halfpenny ; the halfpenny to a farthing, &c.—1. Monsieur Termes and Scipiero overthrew three ensigns of horsemen at three times ; took one dispatch sent from Don Fernando to the Pope concerning this war, and another from the Pope to Don Fernando ; discomfited four ensigns of footmen ; took the Count Camillo of Castilion ; and slew a captain of the Spaniards.—22. Removing to Windsor.—23. Rochester, &c. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the Lady Mary's house, for displeasing her.—26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary Petre, sent to do the same commission.

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—27. Mr. Coverdale made Bishop of Exeter.—28. Rochester, &c. sent to the Fleet. The Lord Chancellor, &c. did that they were commanded to do to my sister, and her house.—31. Rochester, &c. committed to the Tower. The Duke of Somerset, taking certain that began a new conspiracy for the destruction of the gentlemen at Okingham, two days past executed them with death for their offence.—29. Certain pinnaces were prepared to see that there should be no conveyance over-sea of the Lady Mary secretly done. Also appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and the Secretary Petre, should see by all means they could whether she used the Mass; and if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains. Also that when I came from this progress to Hampton Court or Westminster, both my sisters should be with me till further order were taken for this purpose.”

As no apology may perhaps be necessary either for the matter or the extent of these extracts, I will venture to close the tribute thus irregularly collected and devoted to the memory of this Prince with two additional documents of some curiosity; the first, a paper addressed to some unknown person, all written with his own hand, with which I have been just now favoured by an ingenious friend, who transcribed it from the original in the Ashmolean collection at Oxford. It is clear that it may be referred to the great and tragical discord between the Protector and his brother, and that the innocent Edward, then but at the age of ten years, had been called on to disclose the matters adverse to the Protector which had passed in his conversations with the Admiral, in order that they might be used as evidence against that nobleman. The connection of the paper with the history of Edward seems to confer some value on it, nor is it without marks of the premature sagacity which distinguished him.

“ S^r.

The Lord Admirall came to me at the last Parliament, and

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desired me to wryght a thyng for him. I asked him what? He sayd it was non ille; 'it is for the Quene's maters.' I sayd if it were good the Lordes wold allow it: if it were ill, I wol not wright in it. Then he sayd he wold take in better part if i wrought. I desired him to let me alon. I asked Chek whether it wer good to wright, and he sayd no. He sayd 'w'in this tow yere at lest ye must take upon yow to be as ye are, or ought to be, for ye shall be able, and then yow may give your men somewhat; for your unkle is old, and i trust wil not live long.' I sayd it wer better for him to die befor. He sayd 'ye ar a beggarly King. Ye have no monie to pay or to geve.' I sayd that M^r Stanhop had for me. Then he sayd that he wold geve Fouler; and Fouler did geve the monie to divers men as I bad him; as to Master Chek, and the bokbinder, and other. He told me thes thinges often times. Fouler desired me to geve thanks to my Lord Admirall for his gentilnes to me, and praised him to me verie much.

E. R.

"In the moneth of September, An. D. 1547, the Lord Admirall told me that min unkle, beeing gon into Scotland, shuld not passe the peese w^out losse of men, a great number of men, or of himself, and that he did spend much monie in vain. After the returne of min unkle he sayd that i was toe bashful in mi maters, and that I wold not speake for mi right. I sayd I was wel enoughe. When he went to his contré, he desired me not to beleve men that wold sclaunder him till he cam himself.

E. R."

The second is an extract from the original draft of a letter from the Lords of the council to the English Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor, which may be found among the Cecil Papers in the Illustrations of British History, &c. disclosing some slight particulars of Edward's final disease, which seems to have not been elsewhere described otherwise than generally.

"After o^r h^{er}té comendations. We must nede be sorry now to

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write that which cometh both sorrowfully from us, and shall, we well knowe, w^t the like sorrowe be taken of yow ; but, such is the almighty will of God in all his creations, that his ord^r in them may not be by us resisted. In one worde we must tell yow a greate heape of infelicité. God hathe called owte of this world o^r soveraigne Lord the vith of this moneth ; whose man^r of dethe was such toward God as assureth us his sowle is in the place of eternall joye, as, for yo^r owne satisfaction p^tly ye may p[~]ceve by the cōpye of the words which he spake secretly to hym selfe at the mome[~]t of his dethe. The desease wh^of his Ma^y died was the desease of the longs, which had in them 11 grete ulceres, and were putrefied, by meanes wh^of he fell into a consumption, and so hath he wasted, being utterly incurable. Of this evill, for the e[~]portance, we adv[~]tise you, knowing it most comfortable to have bene ignorant of it ; and the same ye maye take tyme to declare unto the Emp[~]or as from us," &c.



TOMAS HOWARD DUKE OF NORFOLK

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

THOMAS HOWARD,

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

THIS most exalted person, who was the eldest of the eight sons of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk of his family, and Lord High Treasurer, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tylney, of Ashwellthorpe, in Norfolk, was created Earl of Surrey by patent, on the first of February, 1513, when his father was restored to the Dukedom, which had been forfeited by the attainder of John, the first Duke, on the accession of Henry the seventh. His first public service, at a very early age, was in the command of a ship of war in the force sent in 1511 against Sir Andrew Barton, whom most of our historians absurdly call "the famous Scottish pirate," and he had an eminent share in the naval victory in which that brave commander was killed. He soon after accompanied Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, in his expedition into Spain against the French, and, the Marquis falling sick, had then the command of the English army. In 1513, upon the death of his younger brother, Sir Edward, he was appointed to succeed him as Lord Admiral of England, and immediately after, to use the words of a very honest historian, "so completely scoured the seas that not a fisher boat of the French durst venture out." That service performed, he landed in Scotland with the same troops which had been so successful at sea, for the military of that time acted indifferently in both duties, and sent a gallant and resolute defiance to the King of Scots, which Lord Herbert in his history has detailed at a length of which the limited nature of this work will not allow the repetition; nor was this a vain threat, for he commanded, together with his brother the Lord

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Edmund, the vanguard at the battle of Floddon, and had an eminent share in the merit of the signal victory obtained there.

There is a chasm in his history from that date till 1521, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. It has been said that he was placed in that arduous office to avoid the opposition which was expected from him to the prosecution of his father-in-law the Duke of Buckingham, whose ruin Henry and Wolsey had previously determined on. If this be true, the fact casts on his character all the lustre which ancient loyalty derived from a disregard of selfish interests and affections, for both his civil and military government in Ireland were eminently distinguished by their wisdom, vigilance, moderation, and activity; and having, with a dreadful but necessary severity, subdued the insurrection which on his arrival he found raging in almost every part of the island, he quitted it in January 1523, loaded with the gratitude and caresses of the civilized Irish, and leaving a Parliament then sitting, from the measures of which, under his auspices, they had obtained the most signal benefits. In the May following his return he was again at sea; escorted the Emperor Charles the fifth to this country; and was by that Monarch appointed Admiral of all his dominions. Under the authority of that commission he joined the ships of Flanders with the English fleet, and made a descent on the coast of Brittany, when he burned the town of Morlaix, and other places, and laid waste the French borders, and afterwards extended his irruption into Picardy.

On the fourth of the following December, upon his father's resignation, he was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer, and on the sixth of February received a commission as General-in-chief of the army then appointed to serve against the Scots, to which was secretly annexed the most ample confidence and power with regard to the political affairs of England with that country, he returned for a short time in the summer of 1524 to take possession of his dignities and estates, and resuming soon after

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his charge in Scotland, accomplished the main object which Henry at that time had in view, by detaching the young King of Scots from the subjection in which he was held by the Regent, Duke of Albany, or, in other words, by placing him under the control of England. This service was rewarded by a grant of additional territory to his already immense domains.

The memorable fall of Wolsey, who had been his father's bitter enemy, happening soon after, he, together with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was commissioned to demand from that degraded favourite the great seal. It has been said that, on the Cardinal's reluctant delay to obey the King's subsequent order for his residence in his see of York, the Duke sent a message to him by Cromwell, threatening, on his longer stay, to "tear him with his teeth." This very improbable story rests, I believe, wholly on the account given by Stowe, whose honesty and simplicity occasionally misled him to give credit to very idle tales. All that we know with certainty of the Duke which has any relation to Wolsey, beyond the little which has been already related, is that his name appears among those of the Lords who signed the articles of impeachment against the Cardinal, and that Henry soon after granted to him the monastery of Felixtow in Suffolk, which was one of the many estates that had been allotted to the endowment of the colleges which that prelate was about to erect in Oxford and Ipswich.

He took a very active part in promoting the measure of Henry's divorce from Catherine; subscribed, with many other Peers, the bold declaration which on the first agitation of that great affair was sent to Rome, and which, in handsome terms, threatened the Holy See with Henry's assumption of the Supremacy in case of the Pope's opposition to it; and presided in several negotiations with that Pontiff and Francis I. The wisdom and steadfast fidelity with which these services, so very acceptable to the King, were performed, procured him new marks of favour, and he received from the Crown in 1534 a further

THOMAS HOWARD,

grant of estates, and in the same year was appointed to the exalted, and then most powerful, office of Earl Marshal of England, which had been, seemingly for that purpose, vacated by the resignation of the Duke of Suffolk. He was also in that year once more constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In 1536 he was again sent Ambassador to Paris, to endeavour, through the mediation of Francis the first, to procure a reversal of the Pope's decree of censure against Henry on account of the divorce ; and in the following year performed perhaps the most signal service to be found in the history of his long and various ministry, by subduing the insurgents in Yorkshire, who were headed by Robert Aske. He displayed on that occasion all the talents of an able general and an acute politician, for he was compelled by the superior force of his opponents to relinquish his military operations, and to have recourse to negotiation, and conducted himself in each capacity with such address that the insurrection was suppressed almost without bloodshed. It is worthy of remark, as it proves the unlimited confidence which Henry then reposed in this great man, that he was well known to favour all the religious and many of the civil, claims of the insurgents ; and it would be difficult to find a parallel instance of the equal maintenance of loyalty and private principle under similar circumstances.

It was soon after this period that Henry's passion for the Lady Catherine Howard, and his consequent determination to repudiate Anne of Cleve, discovered themselves. Cromwell, who had made the match with Anne, instantly applied himself with all diligence to oppose both those dispositions, and the Duke, who already disliked him for the active part he had taken in the Reformation, naturally conceived the highest degree of resentment against the man who endeavoured to impede his niece's progress to the station of Queen Consort. On the thirteenth of June, 1540, he impeached Cromwell at the Council Board of high treason, and, six weeks after, that extraordinary man fell

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a sacrifice to the caprice of his inhuman master, which in this instance was sustained by the jealousy of the nobility, and the prejudices of the people. On the twenty-ninth of January following that event the Duke was appointed Lieutenant General of all the King's forces beyond the river Trent, and, on the first of September, 1542, Captain General of the army in the North, at the head of which he ravaged the frontiers of Scotland in the succeeding March. He was soon after nominated commander of the rear, and then of the vanguard, of the English army in France, appointments which the peace that speedily followed rendered almost useless.

While he was engaged in these services the short-lived elevation of Queen Catherine was suddenly and tragically terminated, and the disgust which her frailty had excited in Henry's inexorable heart extended itself to her family. This motive aggravated the effect of jealousies already conceived on account of the Duke's professed attachment to the ancient religion, and of the immense power and wealth with which the King himself had so largely contributed to invest him. Henry dreaded that all the influence of each would be applied to the re-establishment of that religion, and to the support of the right of succession, in his issue by Catherine of Arragon ; and determined on his death-bed that the Duke, and his admirable son the Earl of Surrey, should not survive him. Even amidst the last struggles of expiring nature he held out temptations to any who would furnish evidence against these eminent persons, and, these endeavours proving fruitless, accused them of high treason merely on an inference drawn from their having quartered with the armorial ensigns of their family the royal arms of England, and those of Edward the Confessor. He accomplished, as is well known, his dreadful purpose with regard to the Earl, and the Duke escaped almost miraculously. Broken down by age, infirmity, and solitary imprisonment, he sought for mercy to his family by concessions and apologies, the effect of which was turned against himself.

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He was prosecuted by a bill of attainder, which was hurried through both Houses of Henry's too obedient Parliament, and a warrant was dispatched on the twenty-ninth of January, 1547, for his execution; but the King died on the preceding night, and the Privy Council judged it unfit to stain the first days of the new reign with the best blood of the country.

The reformers, however, availed themselves with a secret joy of the pretexts against the Duke which Henry had bequeathed to them. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower during the six years that Edward the sixth sat on the throne, and was not released till the third of August, 1553, the very day on which Mary made her public entry into London to take possession of the throne, when he was immediately restored, simply by her sovereign fiat, to his dignities and estates. The Parliament soon after confirmed this extraordinary mark of grace and power by an act of repeal of his attainder, in which, with an ill-merited complaisance to the memory of Henry, they laid on their predecessors all the blame of the Duke's persecution. At the end of a fortnight from his liberation, such were the sudden changes of fortune in those days, he presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his bitter enemy John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. In the following year he raised and equipped his tenants and dependents, and marched at their head against Sir Thomas Wyatt. It was the first public service in which he was unfortunate. They were wrought on by artful suggestions of the purity of the cause they had been called on to oppose to desert to the insurgents, and the Duke, now more than eighty years of age, at that period retired from all public concerns, and died at his seat at Kenninghall in Norfolk on the twenty-fifth of August, in the same year, 1554. He was buried at Framlingham in Suffolk, leaving, as appears by the inquisition taken after his death, notwithstanding the repeated spoils that his ancestors and himself had suffered, fifty-six manors, and thirty-seven advowsons, with many other considerable estates.

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, married first, Anne, daughter of King Edward the fourth, who brought him one son, Thomas, who died young on the fourth of August, 1508, and was buried at Lambeth: Secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had two sons, Henry, the celebrated Earl of Surrey, and Thomas, who in the first year of Elizabeth was created Viscount Howard of Bindon, in the county of Dorset; and one daughter, Mary, married to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son to Henry the eighth.



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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

THOMAS HOWARD,

FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.

HENRY, Earl of Surrey, the poet, the soldier, and the last victim to the monstrous cruelty and injustice of Henry the eighth, and Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, were the parents of this great nobleman. The sanguinary death of his father made way for his succession to the Dukedom in 1557, on the demise of his grandfather, Thomas, the third Duke, whose family had been restored in blood in the first year of Queen Mary. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but he was at that time twenty-one years old. He had received his early education in the protestant faith, in the family of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who was a zealous reformer; and probably afterwards studied in the university of Oxford, since we find that he took there the degree of Master of Arts on the nineteenth of April, 1568.

He had espoused Elizabeth's title to the Crown with all the ardour of youth, and all the sincerity of inexperience, and was among the earliest objects of her gratitude when she succeeded to it. She invested him with the Order of the Garter, and in the following year appointed him her Lieutenant in the North, and Commander in chief of her forces there. In those characters, he concluded a treaty, as soon as he arrived at Berwick, with the Lords who, for the protection of the Duke of Chatelherault, next heir to the Crown, were opposed to the French interest in Scotland, but the peace of Edinburgh, which speedily followed, prevented him from any opportunity of signaling himself in the

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~~fold~~. In 1567, Charles the ninth of France, having complimented Elizabeth with authority to invest two of her subjects with his then much valued order of St. Michael, she named Norfolk to share that distinction. In the next year he was one of the three Commissioners appointed to examine at York the charges brought by the Regent Murray against the captive Queen of Scots, and here he first seriously entertained the idea of that unfortunate matrimonial scheme which at length proved so fatal to him.

The first overture of this project had been made to him two years before by Maitland of Lethington, Mary's Secretary of State, shortly before her marriage to Darnley, when the Duke "waved it," as we are told, "with a modest refusal." Murray, with motives very different, now secretly reiterated the proposal, but it was perhaps yet more discouraged than before by Norfolk, who objected, with some degree of disdain, to an offer of marriage with a woman who laboured under a suspicion, indeed a formal accusation, of dreadful crimes, although that woman were a Sovereign. The correspondence however with Murray, though the subject perhaps was at present unknown, did not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth's spies, who discovered also that the Duke sometimes communicated with Lethington, and others in confidence with the Queen of Scots. In the exercise too of his office of Commissioner signs of partiality to her cause were occasionally observed. Elizabeth's jealousy was awakened, and she exclaimed, in the hearing of several of her Court, that "the Queen of Scots would never want a friend so long as Norfolk lived."

Early in the succeeding year, 1569, we find the Duke wavering on the proposal of the match. He had consulted some of his friends; had been encouraged by them to adopt the project; and a small party was secretly in some measure formed to forward its views. To the scheme for the Duke's marriage was now added

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another, for that of his only daughter to the young King of Scotland, Mary's son. Elizabeth, who became imperfectly apprised of these transactions, had now just ground for anger, though she had none to suspect the Duke's loyalty. Even in the midst of their progress he had ingenuously laid before her certain splendid offers by which the King of Spain had sought to corrupt his fidelity, and to induce him to employ his great power and popularity in embarrassing her government. But the mere failure of that profound deference to royalty which in those days rendered it necessary for a nobleman to obtain to his marriage the previous approbation of his Prince, not to mention the peculiar circumstances of the bride proposed in this case, could not but have given high offence to a Sovereign less irritable and tenacious than Elizabeth. She dissembled however her resentment till she could fathom the whole of the plan to the utmost, and the means that she used for that purpose, though not absolutely proved, are indicated by such powerful historical probabilities as to dispel all reasonable doubt. The Earl of Leicester, who unworthily possessed the Duke's confidence, was employed by her to abuse it. The darkness which involved the motives of that subtle and unprincipled man, even in his own day, has in the lapse of time become generally impenetrable; but it is scarcely possible to surmise with any degree of plausibility what other end he, who never moved but with the view of serving his own interest, chiefly by cultivating her favour, could have proposed by his conduct in this affair. The concurrent testimony of all historians of that time has assured us that Leicester, at this very period, came suddenly forward to urge the Duke with vehemence to conclude the treaty for the match, and undertook himself an active and busy agency in the promotion of it; that, when it was on the point of being accomplished, he affected to fall sick, and, on receiving a visit from her, discovered the whole to the Queen; and that he so devoted his friend to almost certain ruin, under

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the pretence of endeavouring to save himself from possible displeasure.

Elizabeth however entertained a partiality of some sort towards Norfolk, and wished to save him. She still received him with apparent complacency, and even warned him by hints of his danger. Dining with her at Farnham, she "advised him pleasantly to be careful on what pillow he laid his head." She informed him soon after that all had been imparted to her, and reproached him with severity. He now besought his friends to mediate for him, and retired to his estates in Norfolk, but soon returned to the Court, where on his arrival he learned that the Queen had in the mean time received a letter from Murray, with new disclosures. He was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and, having made a large confession, the effusion, not of fear, but of a mind not less honourable than lofty, was committed to the Tower on the eleventh of October, 1569, on a charge of high misdemeanors, from whence, after a year's imprisonment, he was removed to a milder restraint in his own house, under the care of Sir Henry Neville. Here he was visited by that honest minister Burghley, who loved him not less than he loved honour and impartiality; and who, says Camden, "did all he could to work him over to marry any other woman, whereby he would afterwards be free from suspicion, and the state be out of fear: notwithstanding," continues the same author, "there were some who thought he was now set at liberty on purpose that he might be brought into some greater danger. This is certain; that more things came to light afterwards than he was aware of, and the fidelity of those who were his greatest confidants, either by hope or bribery, began to fail him."

The fatal design had indeed sunk too deeply into Norfolk's mind to be eradicated. He was no sooner free from all custody than he engaged in a regular correspondence with Mary, who suggested applications for assistance to the Pope, and the King of

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Spain, with other expedients full of danger to the state. In this enlargement of the plan it was even proposed to seize the person of Elizabeth, and to restore the Catholic religion in England; but this the Duke was proved to have rejected with horror and detestation. The agency of persons of mean rank, and of doubtful character, was now employed, and among them one of the name of Higford, the Duke's secretary, whom he was obliged to intrust with the decyphering of Mary's letters, and others, the originals of which he was strictly ordered to destroy. This however he disobeyed, and, in the summer of 1571, having been detected in the act of conveying a sum of money from the French Ambassador to Mary's party in Scotland, and cast into prison, in a mixture of fear and treachery voluntarily directed Elizabeth's government to the secret place in which he had deposited them. Norfolk was immediately arrested; on the seventh of September again committed to the Tower; and, on the sixteenth of the succeeding January, was tried by twenty-five Peers, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presiding as Lord High Steward, on a charge of high treason, obscurely stated in the indictment, and by no means proved by the papers produced against him, which were the sole evidence employed on the occasion: on that however he was found guilty, and was condemned, in the teeth of the well known statute of Edward the sixth, which enacts that no person shall be convicted of high treason but on the parole testimony of at least two witnesses, to be confronted with the accused.

When the usual final question was put to him—"What he had to say why judgement of death should not be passed on him?" he answered only "God's will be done, who will judge between me and my false accusers." The sentence was then pronounced, which he heard with calmness, and when it was ended, said to the Lords, in a firm but modest tone; "Sentence is passed on me as traitor. I have none to trust to but God and the Queen's law."

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excluded from your society, but I hope shortly to enjoy the heavenly. I will fit myself to die: only this thing I crave—that the Queen would be kind to my children and servants, and take care that my debts be paid.” Camden, who was officially present at the trial, records these speeches, and has in his excellent “Annals of Elizabeth” a number of minute particulars connected with this nobleman’s story, too extensive to be here inserted otherwise than in substance, given with a fidelity and impartiality unusual with the historical writers of his time; but he prudently leaves the inferences to be drawn by posterity. There can be no doubt that the Duke’s ambition aimed at the future attainment of the station of King Consort, if the phrase may be allowed, of Scotland, and eventually of England; and it was a blameless ambition, for it involved no question of Elizabeth’s right to reign, nor of any disturbance of the regular succession to the throne, but aimed merely at the chance of partaking in the splendor of a legal presumptive inheritance.

Elizabeth hesitated for several months whether to take the life of a nobleman perhaps not less beloved by herself than by her people, but at length gave way to those predominant feminine passions, fear and jealousy. An address, doubtless with her secret concurrence, was at length presented to her by a committee of both Houses of Parliament, beseeching her to sign the warrant for his execution, with which, affecting that she could not resist the voice of her people so declared, she complied; and on the second of June, 1572, the Duke suffered death on the scaffold, with that pious resignation, and dignified calmness, which bespoke at once the purity and the grandeur of his character.

Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was thrice married; first to Mary, daughter, and one of the coheirs, of Henry Fitzalan, fourteenth and last Earl of Arundel of his ancient name, who died in childbirth, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1557, under the age of

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seventeen, leaving however her infant son, Philip, who became Earl of Arundel in right of his mother. He married ^{*}secondly, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, and Lord Chancellor, and widow of Henry, a younger son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and by her had two sons, Thomas and William, the ancestors respectively of the present Earls of Suffolk and Carlisle; and two daughters, Elizabeth, who died an infant; and Margaret married to Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset of his name. The Duke's third Lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leybourne, and widow of Thomas, fourth Lord Dacre of Gillesland.



ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

OB. 1586.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

ROBERT DUDLEY,

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THIS mighty Peer, whose history will ever remain a memorial of the injustice and the folly, as well as of the unbounded power, of his Sovereign, was the fifth son of the equally mighty, but less fortunate, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford. The father's greatness shot forth with the rapidity and the splendor of a vast meteor, and was as suddenly lost in darkness: the son's, planet-like, rose somewhat more slowly, and traversed its hemisphere in a more regular obedience to the power from which it derived its motion and its brilliancy. It obeyed however no other power, for Leicester offended against all laws, both divine and human. He seems not to have possessed a single virtue, nor was he highly distinguished by the qualities of his understanding; but the unlimited favour of Elizabeth, which for many years rendered him perhaps the most powerful subject in the world, invested him with a factitious importance, while, on his part, by a degree of hypocrisy so daring that it rather confounded than deceived the minds of men he contrived to avoid open censure. Even flattery however seems to have been ashamed to raise her voice for him while he lived, and the calm and patient research of after times, with all its habitual respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, has busied itself in vain to find a single bright spot on his character.

He was born in or about the year 1532. His father, who surrounded the person of Edward the sixth with his offspring, procured for him in 1551 the post of one of the six Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and about the same time that of master of the King's buck-hounds. Edward, with the common readiness of

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youth, accepted him as a familiar companion, and evinced towards him a partiality bordering on favouritism. On the discomfiture of the feeble attempt to place his sister in law, Jane Grey, on the Throne, and the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned in the Tower, merely, as it should seem, because he was his father's son, for history furnishes us with no trace of his active participation in that design. He was indicted however of high treason, and prudently pleading guilty, received sentence of death, apparently as a matter of form, and soon after a pardon, and was liberated on the eighteenth of October, 1554. Mary indeed immediately took him in some measure into her favour, and we find in Strype's Memorials that after her marriage to Philip he attached himself particularly to that Prince, and was chosen "to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post on such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate himself with either of them." It was at the intercession of Philip, as all historians agree, that such of the prisoners for Jane's forlorn cause as escaped with life were set at liberty; nor is it less certain that the rigours of Elizabeth's captivity were softened through his influence. It may be very probably conjectured, though it has hitherto escaped the observation of historical speculatists, that Dudley was the secret instrument of correspondence between the King and that Princess, and that the dawn of her enormous subsequent favour towards him may be very reasonably ascribed to the impression made on her youthful heart, in a season of danger and misfortune, by a young man who possessed every natural and artificial qualification to win feminine affection.

She appointed him immediately on her accession to the distinguished office of Master of the Horse, and shortly after, on the fourth of June, 1559, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and sworn of the Privy Council. These great preferments were presently followed by grants of estates to an immense value, among which we find his celebrated manor and castle of Kenilworth, in Warwickshire; nor was the Crown the sole source of

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his growing power and wealth, for numerous public bodies, particularly of the ecclesiastical order, in the hope of securing to their respective interests the vast influence which he evidently possessed over the mind of the Queen, elected him to their stewardships, and other municipal offices, which, not to mention the sums which he annually derived from them, extended his authority into almost every part of the realm. That such an extravagance of good fortune should have excited envy and competition might reasonably be expected, but few ever ventured to appear in open rivalry towards him. Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, perhaps the most virtuous and high spirited, and certainly one of the wisest, of Elizabeth's servants, openly opposed himself from public motives to the secret design which Dudley undoubtedly entertained of becoming her husband, and was joined by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had with less reserve aspired to that proud distinction: the rest submitted with despair, or sullen patience, to a power which seemed impregnable by the attacks of faction or the machinations of intrigue: even Burghley, esteemed as he was for his sagacity and probity, condescended to profess for the favourite an esteem which he could not have felt. Elizabeth, as though for the express purpose of giving a colour to his arrogant view of partaking her bed, now proved to himself and to the world, that she thought him worthy of a royal spouse, by proposing him in form as a husband to the young Queen of Scots, by whom she knew he would be rejected. Thus he stood in the Court of his mistress, when on the twenty-eighth of September, 1564, she raised him to the dignity of Baron of Denbigh, and on the following day to the Earldom of Leicester, and towards the end of that year the University of Oxford elected him their Chancellor. He accompanied Elizabeth soon after in a visit to that learned body, and was received with a respect and deference perhaps never before conceded to any of her subjects, and which in fact could not properly have been due to any one beneath the rank of her consort.

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In the mean time however the Queen, by a treaty of marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria which bore every mark of sincerity, cast a lasting damp on his proud hopes. Leicester had so far presumed on her partiality as to oppose the negotiation, not only in argument with herself and her council, but even publicly, and was rebuked by her with a severity which, while it convinced him of the vanity of his splendid pretensions, left him no room to doubt that self love, and a resolution to preserve her independence, were the ruling features of her character. His disappointment was confined to the frustration of this single view, for in all other matters her favour and his influence remained unimpaired ; and, now at leisure to pursue a more ordinary track of ambition, he sought, with the aid of a most profound dissimulation, to maintain the possession of them, nor was this caution unnecessary, for the repulse which he had lately experienced from the Queen had disclosed to him enemies perhaps before unsuspected, and encouraged his rivals to a more open shew of competition. Among the latter was Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a nobleman not only invested with the utmost importance that splendor of descent, immense wealth, and no very distant kindred to Elizabeth, could bestow, but one of the few of her subjects whom a party in her Court and Council had flattered with the hope of gaining her hand. Leicester determined on the ruin of a man thus in every way hateful to him, and, as it could be accomplished only by treachery, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Duke, who was distinguished by the generosity and simplicity of his character. Norfolk communicated to him the plan which he had formed for a marriage with the Queen of Scots, with all his weighty dependencies ; was directed in every step towards it by his counsel ; and when it approached to fruition was betrayed by him to Elizabeth ; who indeed it may be reasonably suspected had employed him from the beginning for that purpose.

These detestable facts have been fully proved against him, but it is to the last degree difficult, not to say impossible, such were

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the depth of his artifices, and the dread secrecy of his instruments, to obtain clear historical evidence of the most remarkable features of his conduct in public measures, and towards public servants. His agency was felt, but not seen ; or if those who were bound by his spells sometimes obtained a glimpse of the inchanter, he was presently again shrouded in utter darkness. Much however has been proved and more inferred from circumstances. Having overthrown the Duke of Norfolk, he conceived about the same time a bitter hatred against the Queen of Scots, and Burghley, who had been the intimate and confidential friend of that unfortunate nobleman. It was probably the offspring of fear, for there can be little doubt that each of them possessed damning proofs of his late treachery. The rigours of Mary's tedious captivity, the strange vacillations of Elizabeth's policy regarding her, and her tragical end, may be most reasonably ascribed to his influence over the worst passions of his infatuated mistress ; yet he found means to impress on the mind of Mary a persuasion that he commiserated her sufferings, and she more than once appealed to his pity. His reiterated insinuations against Cecil were however always unsuccessful. Elizabeth regarded that great minister with feelings directly opposite to those of fear and anger, and all her selfishness was awakened to protect him. Leicester at length ventured to quit for a moment the strong-hold of his accustomed obscurity, and allowed the faction of which he was the acknowledged head to frame a regular accusation of Burghley to the Privy Council, but the plan was discovered to the Queen before it was fully matured, and the favourite was once more reprimanded by her. Original letters from him to the Treasurer, written at this precise period, stuffed with the most fulsome flattery, and professions of the warmest friendship, are still extant.

He is said to have appeased his vengeance by the sacrifice of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a bold and busy politician, who, after having been deeply concerned in the negotiations between Mary

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and the Duke of Norfolk, unexpectedly quitted Leicester's party, and attached himself to Burghley. He died very suddenly in the Earl's house, as it was industriously reported, of a pleurisy, after partaking of a supper to which Leicester had invited him, but little doubt was entertained that he had been taken off by poison, and the malice with which the favourite presently afterwards pursued his family almost established the fact. That Leicester dealt in that horrible method of assassination cannot be reasonably controverted, however we may be inclined to question some particular charges of that nature among the many which have been made against him. The honourable and amiable Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom, both for public and private causes he was a determined enemy, and whose gallant services in Ireland he had cruelly thwarted and depreciated, perished in that country with a clear impression on his mind, corroborated by the opinion of all who happened to be then about him, that his death had been so procured. The Countess of Lenox, the mode of whose royal descent presented an obstacle to the possible inheritance of the Crown, derived from George Duke of Clarence, by Leicester's kinsman and favourite the Earl of Huntingdon, a speculation which he much cherished, died, with strong symptoms of poison, presently after having received a visit from him. Nay, it has been generally reported, though probably untruly, that he retained in his establishment two persons, an Italian and a Jew, who were adepts in the diabolical art of preparing the means for such sacrifices; but the very exaggerations of the general charge on his memory tend to prove that it must have been in some degree well founded.

Yet this iniquitous man, not less odious in his private life, as we shall presently see, than disgraceful to herself and her Court; an enemy and torment to her ministers; the prime patron of the Puritans, whom she secretly regarded perhaps with more terror than the Papists; not only maintained his ground, but gradually rose in the estimation of Elizabeth to the last hour of his life.

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She seemed even anxious to publish to the world the distinction in which she held him. Her celebrated visit to him at his mansion of Kenilworth in July 1575 was protracted to the length of nineteen days, an honour never on any other occasion granted by her to a subject. In June 1577 she so far forgot herself as to write thus to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—"Our very good cousins—Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was not only lately received by you, our cousin the Countess, at Chatsworth, and his diet by you both discharged at Buxtons, but also presented with a very rare present, we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to our own self, reputed him as another self; and therefore ye may assure yourselves that we, taking upon us the debt not as his but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge the same in such honourable sort as so well deserving creditors as ye shall never have cause to think ye have met with an ungrateful debtor." Numerous instances of this extravagant folly might be cited, and indeed Leicester's arrogance and presumption under such temptations form the most defensible part of his character. The degrading exposure of her motive however was yet to come—at this period he once more asked her hand, and was once more refused. Enraged at the disappointment, he instantly married, without making any communication to her of his intention, and Elizabeth, in utter contempt not only of the delicacy of her sex and the dignity of her station, but of all principles of law and justice which could bear any relation to the case, tore him from the arms of his bride, and imprisoned him in a little fortress which then stood in the park at Greenwich. This transport of angry jealousy however soon subsided. Leicester was released, and restored to full favour, and is said to have consoled himself for his short disgrace with schemes for the assassination of Simier, an agent from the Duke of Anjou, who was then

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in London, negotiating for the projected marriage of that Prince to Elizabeth, and whom he suspected to have apprised her of his own secret nuptials.

This treaty, which had been for a while suspended, was renewed in 1581, when a more honourable embassy arrived from the French Court, and Leicester, who had now thought fit to assume the character of an advocate for the proposed union, was named among those who were appointed to confer with the commissioners. Anjou soon followed, but the strange caprice of Elizabeth on this occasion, which forms a remarkable and well known feature in the history of the time, finally disgusted him so highly, that, after three months' residence in her Court, he suddenly embarked in the beginning of the succeeding year for the Low Countries, the government of which he had lately accepted. She indulged Leicester with the triumph of conveying thither his illustrious and rejected rival, and in this visit he probably laid the groundwork for that proud appointment to which by the joint act of herself and those States he was soon after nominated. He returned to a Court and Council agitated by the discovery of some designs lately projected by the friends of the unhappy Mary, and yet more by doubts and suspicions. He seized the opportunity of displaying his loyalty, and of indulging his hatred of the royal prisoner, by proposing to the nobility and gentry a bond of association by which they should engage themselves to pursue, even unto death, those who might form any plan against the life, or crown, or dignity, of Elizabeth. Mary was in fact the secret object of this widely extended menace, but the terror which it inspired having for a time paralysed the efforts of her adherents, he became impatient of her existence, and boldly moved the Queen that she should be taken off by poison. Elizabeth, nothing loth, undoubtedly proposed it to her ministers, for it is historically proved that Walsingham, practised and even hacknied as he was in a sort of treachery legalized by the fatal necessity of States, protested against so heinous a measure, and insisted that

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she should not be put to death without at least the forms of judicial enquiry.

It was just at this period that a deadly invective, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," or at least so entitled in subsequent editions, issued from the press in Flanders, and was presently dispersed in vast abundance throughout England, and indeed in most of the nations of Europe. It consisted of a circumstantial relation of all the crimes and faults which had been at any time laid to the charge of the favourite, delivered with the utmost artifice of affected candour and simplicity, and intermixed with political reflections, tending to prove that every cause of complaint which existed in England might be traced to his malign influence. No publication ever before obtained so sudden and extensive a circulation. It was read with the utmost avidity, and the ridiculous efforts for its suppression made by Elizabeth, whose policy where Leicester was concerned always gave way to her passions, served but to excite to the highest pitch the curiosity of her subjects. She compelled her Council to address letters to the lieutenants of counties, and other public functionaries, charging them to prohibit the perusal of the pamphlet, and to punish severely the dispersers of it; and, not content with this degree of folly, made them insert a declaration (to use their own words) that "her Majesty testified in her conscience before God that she knew in assured certainty the books and libels published against the Earl to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." Her subservient Council, most of the members of which utterly detested him, outran their mistress in vehement assertions of his innocence—assertions which they knew to be false, and of the truth of which, had they been otherwise than false, no evidence could possibly have been obtained. There is indeed little reason to doubt any of the allegations of this celebrated libel. Sir Philip Sidney, who was Leicester's nephew, sat down in all the pride and heat of youth, and full consciousness of talent, to refute them, and almost wholly

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failed. Despairing of success, and perhaps at length deterred from attempting it in such a cause by that fine moral feeling which distinguished him, he laid his work aside, after considerable progress, the fruit of which remained unpublished till the appearance, of late years, of the Sidney Papers.

In the following year, 1585, the United Provinces, yet unable to establish their independence, reiterated a request formerly made to Elizabeth to become their Sovereign. Anxious at once to avoid the jealous imputation of an ambitious desire of extending her dominion, to curb the power of Spain, and to aid the Protestant cause, she refused the offer, but readily agreed to furnish them with a powerful aid of troops and money. Leicester solicited, and instantly obtained, the command of this expedition, and was received, on his landing at Flushing, of which his nephew Sidney had been previously appointed Governor, with all the respect due to a Viceroy, which character, in contradiction to his instructions, he instantly assumed. The States, eager to persuade, Philip the second that Elizabeth exercised a virtual sovereignty over them, invested the Earl by a solemn act with supreme authority, which he readily accepted, and, amidst the gorgeous festivities prepared to celebrate his exaltation, letters arrived from her, both to himself and to the States, in a tone of unexampled fury.—“We little thought,” said she to Leicester, “that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour,” &c. This was worthy of the daughter of Henry the eighth, but the weakness of Elizabeth presently succeeded. Leicester returned a submissive explanation, and was instantly restored to full favour, nor does it appear even that the appointment which had produced this ebullition of capricious wrath was revoked. His service however in the Low Countries was marked by misfortune and disgrace. Totally deficient in military experience, he found himself opposed

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to the Prince of Parma, one of the first generals of the age, and a politician also of no mean fame ; and his admirable nephew, whose advice had aided him in the Council, and whose example had invigorated him in the field, fell a sacrifice to the intemperance of his valour before the walls of Zutphen. The States became envious of his authority, and thwarted the measures of his government, already weak and inefficient, and he increased their jealousy by striving to ingratiate himself with the people. He returned to England, disgusted but unwillingly ; the faction which he had formed prevailed on the States again to solicit his presence, and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1587, he landed in Zealand, with new levies. Fresh discords however arising, Elizabeth, with his concurrence, finally recalled him in the succeeding November, and shielded him by her authority against a regular charge of mal-administration in the Low Countries which had been prepared before his arrival, and was now preferred to the Privy Council by a party of his enemies, headed by the Lord Buckhurst, whom the Queen had lately sent thither to learn the true state of affairs, and who was rewarded for his pains by a vote of censure, and an imprisonment of several months.

Leicester had now reached the highest pinnacle of favour and power. Elizabeth could refuse him nothing, and her ministers, even Burghley himself, seem to have trembled at his nod. All the most important commands, civil and military, in the nation were in the hands of his relations or friends ; to the offices already held by himself she had very lately added those of Steward of her Household, and Chief Justice of the Forests south of Trent ; and in the summer of 1588, placed him at the head of the army which she had raised to resist the expected Spanish invasion. She thus concluded her speech to these troops, when she reviewed them at Tilbury—" Rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your General, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness that you have deserved rewards and crowns ;

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and I do assure you, on the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lieutenant General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject." In this moment, such is the insatiable thirst of ambition, he solicited Elizabeth to appoint him to the office, not less unusual than enormously powerful and dignified, of Lieutenant, or Vicegerent, of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and even this, tenacious as she was of her royal authority, she readily conceded to him. It is said that a patent for this mighty appointment was ready for the Great Seal, when Burghley, and her Chancellor Hatton, ventured to remonstrate with her, and so far succeeded as to obtain leave to suspend for some days that ratification. In the meantime Leicester left London for a short sojournment at Kenilworth castle, and on his way thither stopped at his house of Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, where he was seized by a rapid fever, and expired on the fourth of September, 1588.

From the foregoing sketch I have hitherto excluded any particulars of the domestic life of this most remarkable person. They will be found, singularly enough, considering the cast of his character, to be little concerned with his public story, the chain of which they would therefore but have served to disconnect. All parts of his conduct however, morally viewed, were in horrible harmony, for the man was as abominably wicked as the statesman and courtier.

Leicester, at the age of eighteen, married Anne, or Amy, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, a gentleman of Norfolk, distinguished by antiquity, indeed splendor, of descent, and by his great possessions in that county. They were wedded, as Edward the sixth in whose presence the nuptials were solemnized states in his journal, on the fourth of June, 1550, and lived together, with what degrees of cordiality we are not informed, for ten years, but had no children. It is scarcely to be doubted that he caused this lady to be assassinated, and the circumstances of the time, as well as of the case itself, tend to press on his memory this

EARL OF LEICESTER.

dreadful charge perhaps more heavily than any other of the same character. Her death occurred on the eighth of September, 1560, at the very period when the lofty hope of obtaining the hand of his Sovereign may be clearly presumed to have reigned with the strongest sway in his overheated mind. He sent her, with what avowed motive does not appear, to the solitary manor house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, a village not far from Oxford, inhabited by one of his train, named Anthony Forster. Thither she was shortly followed by Sir Richard Verney, another of his retainers, and a few days after, these persons, having sent all her servants to Abingdon Fair, and no one being with her but themselves, she died in consequence, as they reported, of a fall down a staircase. But "the inhabitants of Cumnor," says Aubrey, in whose history of Berkshire all that could be collected on the subject is minutely detailed, "will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came, and stifled her in her bed; bruised her head very much; broke her neck; and at length flung her down stairs; thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villainy." Nor was this plan of violence adopted till after they had vainly attempted to destroy her by poison, through the unconscious aid of Dr. Bailey, then professor of Physic in the University of Oxford, who had resisted their earnest importunity to make a medicine for her, when he knew she was in perfect health, suspecting, from his observation of circumstances, as he afterwards declared, that they intended to add to it some deadly drug, and trembling for his own safety. The disfigured corpse was hurried to the earth without a coroner's inquest, and to such a height did the pity and the resentment of the neighbouring families arise, that they employed the pen of Thomas Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, to write to the Secretaries of State, intreating that a strict enquiry should be made into the true cause of the lady's death, but the application had no

ROBERT DUDLEY,

effect. The strongest inference however of Leicester's guilt in this case is to be drawn from a string of reasons, noted down by Cecil himself, why the Queen should not make him her husband, one of which is—"that he is infamed by the death of his wife."—The effect of such a remark, made by such a person, and for such a purpose, wants little of the force of positive evidence.

The relaxations of such a man as Leicester are commonly sought in the gratification of mere appetite, and such were his. After a variety of amorous intrigues, not worthy of recollection, he became more than usually attached to Douglas, daughter of William Howard, first Lord Effingham, and widow of John, Lord Sheffield. Vulgar report, presuming on the known enormities of his life, proclaimed that he had disposed of her husband by those infernal secret means so frequently ascribed to him in other cases. Be this as it might, it is certain that he married her, or deceived her into a pretended marriage, immediately after the death of Lord Sheffield. By this Lady he had a son, with whose future story, remarkable as it was rendered by the dispositions unhappily and infamously made by the father, this memoir has no concern, and a daughter. He stipulated with the unfortunate Douglas that their marriage should be kept profoundly secret; the children were debarred from any intercourse with their mother; and the Earl, having some years after determined to marry another, compelled her by threats, by promises, and at length, by attempts on her life, to make a most effectual, though tacit, renunciation of all marital claims on him, by publicly taking to her husband Sir Edward Stafford. These nefarious circumstances were disclosed, shortly before the death of Elizabeth, in the prosecution of a suit in the Star Chamber instituted to establish the legitimacy, and consequent right of inheritance of her son; and on this occasion Douglas, after having proved by the testimony of many respectable witnesses her marriage to the deceased Earl, declared on oath the foul proceedings by which she had been forced to throw herself into the arms, and on the

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protection, of Stafford ; concluding with a relation of the means which Leicester had previously used to take her off by poison, under the operation of which she swore that her hair and her nails had fallen off; that her constitution had been ruined; and that she had narrowly escaped with life.

The object for whom he abandoned this miserable lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and relict of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The already strong suspicion that Leicester had caused by the same diabolical means the death of that nobleman, to which some slight allusion has already been made, was aggravated to the utmost by the indecent haste with which he wedded the widow, with whom there was no doubt that he had for some time before maintained a guilty intercourse. This was the marriage which so highly excited the displeasure of Elizabeth, and which she unremittingly resented towards the Countess by an insulting neglect, in spite of all the instances of the young Essex, her son, who succeeded his uncle in the Queen's extravagant favour. Leicester had by this lady, one son, Robert; who died in childhood four years before his father. She survived the Earl for nearly half a century; and persecuted with tedious and ruinous suits his son by Lady Sheffield, whose legitimacy Leicester, with a folly equal to his injustice, had sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied, and to whom he had bequeathed his princely castle and domain of Kenilworth, of which the unfortunate gentleman was at last in a manner defrauded by the Crown in the succeeding reign.

Such, on the whole, was Elizabeth's most distinguished favourite. History, to its lamentable discredit, invariably asserts, in the same breath, his wickedness and the wisdom of his royal patroness—one or the other of those assertions must be false.



GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND

OR 1604

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

WE might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this Nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier: in the rough-hewn narrations of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peter House under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematics as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction,

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed however in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the Elizabeth Bonaventure, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself. Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal commission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the Golden Lion, which however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition,

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the main mast of his own ship by the board; he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the Victory, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the Victory and a Brasil ship, off St. Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched; and the sufferings of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparalleled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst, exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean, with indifferent success returned but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England, destined to the Azores, in the summer of the

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following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Caragues, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594; but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the controul under which the use of such loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons; was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship

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that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd, "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinctured always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his

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eccentric compeer, Essex ; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise “ of Honour Military and Civil,” an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

“ On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman” (Sir Henry Lea), “ together with the Earl of Cumberland, having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chiefest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church : within it were many lamps burning : also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks : upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by

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three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, *foelicitissimæ* Virgini; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cœlum foelicissimè nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cœlo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majesty graciously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in liew of an helmet, with a buttoned cap, of the countrey fashion."

The Earl's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office; in horse-racing, which had then lately become fashionable; and in feasts which rivalled the splendor of royalty; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family; lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high spirited for such a husband; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little

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less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.



MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

OF 1601

SIR JOHN SHIELLY SIDNEY BARONET

MARY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

THIS lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable, but his affection for her family, negotiated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match.

“ Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my exceedyng great comfort, the lykeleod of a maryage betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attrybut to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power: Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's is so happy an advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my derest Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer.

MARY SIDNEY,

I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth much to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvyng; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull sight of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllingly would gyve it; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp; and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good good work, and to requyte you for the same for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after the date of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's, and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit; for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless therefore that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on women of her rank, but attained to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. She has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew

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tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms, is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegance of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

“ It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marveiled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we, in the meane while, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome way; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with grieve, nor behold our port but with teares, nor approach our home, and quiet abode, but with horreur and trembling.

MARY SIDNEY,

This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes within sometimes without, never cease to torment us; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting place; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour; of taking comfort at the sight of our land; of singing at the approch of our happie mansion; we would faine, who would beleieve it? retake our worke in hande; we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines: our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten: we feare no more the travailes or the theeves: contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine; we doubt it as a rocke; we flie it as a thiefe; we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and, seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feelee no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitternesse, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's *Astrophel*, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of Astræa (Queen Elizabeth) which appears

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in Davison's Poetical Rhapsody: the one unworthy of the subject, and of her affection: the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit, and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure, and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

1.

- T. I sing divine Astræa's praise.
O Muses, help my wits to raise,
And heave my verses higher.
- P. Thou need'st the truth but plainly tell,
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
Thou art so great a liar.

2.

- T. If in my song no more I shew
Than heaven and earth, and sea do know,
Then truly have I spoken.
- P. Sufficeth not no more to name,
But being no less, the like the same;
Else laws of truth be broken.

3.

- T. Then say she is so good, so fair,
With all the world she may compare,
Nor Momus' self denying.
- P. Compare may think where likeness holds;
Nought like to her the earth enfolds:
I look'd to find you lying.

4.

- T. Soon as Astræa shews her face
Strait every ill avoids the place,
And every good aboundeth.
- P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,
The last doth come, the first doth go;
How loud this lye resoundeth.

She translated from the French the Tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion,

MARY SIDNEY,

consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection, or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression: generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity, either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him.
I saw him wrong'd, and yet did not excuse him.
I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.
I had his blessings, yet I did abuse him.
But was it myne, or my forefather's deede,
Whose'ere it was, it makes my hart to bleede.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;
To see the hands that brake that livelye breade;
To see the heade whereon our honor stoode;
To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—
Feete pearc'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—
Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no restinge place:
He heal'd ech payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:
Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace:
Gave all hartes joy, himselfe in heavynesse:
Suffred them live by whome himself was slayne.
Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.
There is a losse that tells me of a love.
Betwixt them both a state of such a strife
As makes my spyritt such a passion prove,
That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas!
Makes me the woefullst wretch that ever was.

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE. *

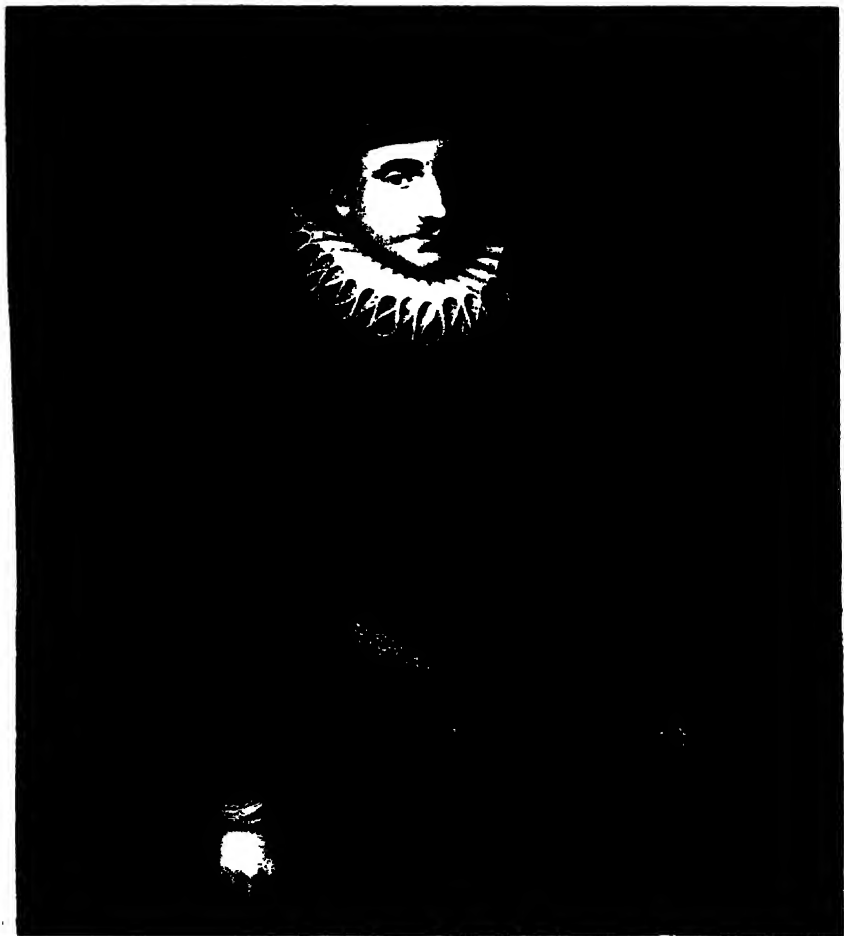
The truth seems to be that Lady Pembroke, as a poet, was spoiled by adulation, and complimented into self conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits anticipated the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitzgeffrey, Lanŷer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not "dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough ;" and another calls himself the "Triton of her praise." Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,
And most resembling, both in shape and spirit,
Her brother dear ;

and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

She died, at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William, and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb.

" Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse :
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother :
Death, ere thou hast slain another
Wise, and fair, and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.



FULKE GRENVILLE, LORD BROOKE

OB. 1623

HON. J. LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE

FULKE GREVILLE,

FIRST LORD BROOKE.

SIR Fulke Greville, for by that style the subject of this memoir is best known, was one of the chief ornaments of Elizabeth's Court, and stood among the foremost of those who were graced by her smiles. Nature and circumstances seemed to have combined to place him favourably in the view of a Sovereign who was not more distinguished by her keen discernment, and ready approbation of merit, than by her reluctance to encourage it by solid rewards. His character united to most of the talents of a statesman the easy gaiety and refined elegance of a courtier. He was a good scholar; loved polite literature; delighted in composition, in which he employed his pen to a vast extent; and was a liberal patron to men of genius and learning. Not a breath of suspicion seems ever to have fallen either on the honour of his public or private conduct, or on his fidelity to the Crown; and his loyalty to Elizabeth appeared to be tinged by a mixture even of personal friendship. On the other hand, he was born to the inheritance of a large estate, which he sought not to increase; avoided all intrigues, either in Court or State, and lived in harmony with the great in both; was free from envy, and perhaps just sufficiently jealous of those who were occasionally more favoured than himself to soothe the vanity of his mistress, without annoying her by his endeavours to supplant them.

Few private gentlemen could boast a more illustrious descent. His father, Sir Fulke Greville, of an ancient knightly family, sprung maternally from the great baronial houses of Beauchamp of Powick, and Willoughby de Brooke; and his mother was

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Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. He was born in 1554, their only son, and great pains were bestowed on his education, which commenced in a school, then of considerable fame, in the town of Shrewsbury, where he was placed with his relation, the incomparable Philip Sidney, the darling companion of his youth, and the idol of his more mature friendship. He went from thence, at about the age of sixteen, to Oxford; was admitted, it is not known of what House, a gentleman commoner; and, after a short stay in that University, removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge, and, having there concluded his academical studies, passed on the continent the time usual with youths of his rank, and returned highly accomplished. He was now introduced at Court, and with uncommon advantages, for he was kinsman not only to the highly favoured Sir Henry Sidney, but to the sagacious and useful Walsingham, and those great statesmen had determined to breed him to their own envied and painful profession. The character of his nature, however, frustrated their endeavours. He was at once indolent and active, cautious and enterprising. He longed for distinction, but viewed with disgust the steps that usually lead to ministerial eminence. The earlier part of his life passed therefore without public employment, except in some offices probably of more profit than efficiency, which he held under Sir Henry Sidney, in his presidency of the Marches of Wales; one of which, indeed, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council there, to the reversion of which he succeeded in 1581, is said, almost incredibly, to have produced him in fees the great annual income of two thousand pounds.

His inclination however to stand upon his own merits remained unaltered by these advantages. Sir Philip Sidney, whom he seems to have chosen as his model, was perhaps also his adviser; and who could have refused as a guide him whom it was a glory even faintly to imitate? He projected various schemes of foreign excursion, the accomplishment of which was always prevented

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by the Queen's express commands. "How mild soever," says he, in his life of Sir Philip Sidney, which exhibits too the most important parts of his own, "those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady, yet, to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke Casimir's, were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparation, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dyer." He goes on to state that having soon after made a visit to Walsingham, who was then Ambassador at Paris, without Elizabeth's permission; she was so highly offended as to forbid him her presence for several months after his return; that she arrested him, together with Sir Philip Sidney, at the moment when they were about to sail with Drake to the West Indies, in 1585; prevented him from attending Leicester, who had given him the command of an hundred horse, to the Low Countries; and, finally, punished him by a second banishment from the Court, for six months, because he had gratified an earnest curiosity to be present for a time with the army of the King of Navarre, during the wars of the League. "By which many warnings," he concludes, "I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Sovereign's hand had planted it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my Sovereign."

He returned therefore to the life of a courtier, and contented himself for the time with such fame as might be derived from

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shining in tournaments, and at banquets, and enlivening Elizabeth's select parties by the graces of his manners and conversation. Thus he passed many years, devoting however his frequent intervals of leisure to almost universal study, and to literary composition of characters little less various. It seems to have been his ambition, or his delight, or both, to confine in the golden fetters of verse the discussion of subjects which the simplicity and amplitude of prose too frequently fail to treat of with competent clearness. Hence, it is in some measure, that he has incurred the blame of a mysterious, confused, and affected writer, when the censure was rather due to a false taste, or an arrogant judgment, than to any remarkable deficiency, either of intellect or style. His prose is sufficiently intelligible; abundantly figurative, according to the fashion of his time; but, contrary to that fashion, frequently insufferably diffuse. It is evident that he neither thought nor wrote with facility, and it is no injustice to his memory to reckon him among the million whom vanity has added to the list of authors. As a lover of letters, and a patron of literary men, his reputation stands on higher ground. He founded an historical lecture in the University of Cambridge, on an annual stipend of one hundred pounds. Camden, who without detracting from the worth of Bacon or Herbert, may be called the father of truth, and purity of style, in the composition of English history, was eminently favoured by him. "This Sir Fulke Greville," says that writer, enumerating in his *Britannia* the eminent persons of the County of Warwick, "doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet, whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them." The respectable Speed, who was rescued by him from that which a customary prejudice has designated the meanest of all mechanical employments, in his topographical work thus owns his obligations.

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“ Sir Fulke Greville's merits to me-wards I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind; himself being the procurer of my present estate.” Davenant, the Laureat in the reigns of Charles the first and second, was bred in his house, and lived with him till his death; and a host of poets have mixed with their compliments to his muse their more sincere celebration of his munificence.

To return to the circumstances of his life, it was not till October, 1597, that the honour of knighthood was conferred on him, and we find him a few months after stepping out of his usual course of independence, and soliciting for the office of Treasurer of the Wars, which he did not obtain. In 1599, however, he was appointed for life Treasurer for Marine Causes, and is said to have accepted about the same time a commission as Rear Admiral in the fleet which was then equipped to resist a second invasion threatened by the Spaniards; but Elizabeth, in the concluding year of her reign, did at length bestow on him a lasting mark of her favour, by granting to him the manor, and extensive lands, of Wedgenock, one of the Warwickshire estates which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Dudleys. He represented that County in most of the Parliaments of her reign; was an occasional speaker; and frequently chosen of committees.

James the first, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, in 1603 added to his possessions in his native county a grant of the ancient Castle of Warwick, with its demesne. No boon could have been more to his taste. It was then in so ruinous and neglected a state that the only habitable part of it was used for the common gaol of the county; but “ he bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds,” says Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, “ in the repairs thereof; beanti-fying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England can compare with it for

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stateliness and delight." Here then was a new occupation for the dignified leisure that he loved, and he added to it about this time a design to write a history of the preceding reign, derived from the only proper sources of history, original state papers, and his own knowledge of facts. This plan, from motives which may readily be conceived, was defeated by the selfish apprehensions of the Secretary Cecil, to whom he applied for the inspection of many documents necessary to his purpose. Greville, who perhaps had foreseen some opposition in that quarter, prefaced his request by observing that he "conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but that to tell all the truth were both justly to wrong and offend not only Princes and States, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness, not only of particular men, but of many families;" and has been therefore severely censured by Lord Orford. Without stopping to weigh the respective demerits of historical reservation, whether arising from the meanness of fear, or the insolence of faction, suffice it to say that Cecil at first readily acceded to his motion, but, after some musing, asked him "why he would dream out his time in writing a story, being as likely to rise in this time as any man he knew;" and that, finding he could not be moved from his purpose by artifice, told him that "upon second thoughts, he durst not presume to let the council chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation." And "with this supersedeas," says Sir Fulke, who tells the story at considerable length in his *Life of Sidney*, "I humbly took my leave; at the first sight assuring myself that this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed; and that the many judgments which those embryos of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as, in the end, the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time; not a voluntary homage of duty."

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He remained, however, unemployed in public affairs till after Cecil's death, but in 1614 was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Under-Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the duties and labours of those offices were moderate in the infant days of the modern giant finance so were their profits. It may be worth observing that the annual emolument of the Chancellor did not amount to forty pounds; nor that of the Under Treasurer to one hundred and eighty. On the ninth of January, 1620, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, in Warwickshire, with remainder to his cousin, Robert Greville, whom he had bred, and adopted as his son, and who will presently be spoken of more at large; and in the following year he resigned his ministerial posts, and accepted that of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber. To his natural carelessness of the most usual objects of ambition was now added the indolence of increasing years. The light labours of his closet, and the polished conversation of the Court, employed the remainder of his life, and he had reached his seventy-fourth year, with little decay of health or spirits, when he was murdered, in his residence of Brooke House, in Holborn, by a gentleman domestic, whom he had retained for many years in his service. The assassin, Ralph Heywood, who was alone with him in his bedchamber, stabbed him in the back; rushed instantly into another apartment; and destroyed himself. This horrid act has been commonly, but very improbably, attributed to the omission of Heywood's name in his Lord's will, a fact which it is scarcely possible could have been known, especially by a person of his degree, till after that nobleman's death. On this report, however, a tedious speculation on the ingratitude of patrons, and the misery of dependents, cruelly injurious to the memory of Lord Brooke, may be found in a great biographical work of modern date, by no means distinguished for its affection to the aristocratic order. The blow was probably the result of sudden frenzy. The noble

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sufferer survived a few days, and, dying on the thirtieth of September, 1628, was buried, with much solemnity, in the great church of Warwick, under a monument, which he had some years before erected, with the well known inscription, "Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth; Counsellor to King James; and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Trophæum Peccati." Lord Brooke was never married.

He wrote in prose, "The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney"—"A letter to an honourable Lady, with advice how to behave herself to a Husband of whom she was jealous"—"A Letter on Travel," written for the use of his cousin Greville Verney, then in France;—but a little book, impudently published under his name in 1643, intituled "The five Years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England," &c. is undoubtedly spurious, although Lord Orford has unwarily admitted it into his list of Lord Brooke's writings. His poetical works, most of which were published about five years after his death, were "Cælica," a collection of one hundred and nine songs and sonnets, several of great length—"A Treatise of Human Learning," in fifteen stanzas—"An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour," in eighty-six stanzas—"A Treatise of Wars," in sixty-eight stanzas. These four pieces were published in one volume in 1633; but in 1670 appeared "The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed;" extending together to the enormous length of nearly eight hundred stanzas of six lines. He wrote also two tragedies; "Alaham," and "Mustapha," after the model of the ancient drama; an ineffectual attempt to vitiate the theatrical taste of his country, more pardonable in him than in others who have since made it with equal ill fortune. A third has also been imputed to him, intituled "Marcus Tullius Cicero," but it is believed to have been written by another hand.

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To the very short examples of Lord Brooke's prose composition which have been here incidentally given, I will add a single specimen perhaps of his best poetry, and conclude.

Love, the delight of all well thinking minds ;
Delight, the fruit of virtue dearly loved ;
Virtue, the highest good that reason finds ;
Reason, the fire wherein men's thoughts be proved ;
Are from the world by nature's power bereft,
And in one creature, for her glory, left.

Beauty her cover is, the eye's true pleasure ;
In honour's fame she lives, the ear's sweet musick ;
Excess of wonder grows from her true measure ;
Her worth is passion's wound, and passion's physic ;
From her true heart clear springs of wisdom flow,
Which, imag'd in her words and deeds, men know.

Time fain would stay, that she might never leave her ;
Place doth rejoice, that she must needs contain her ;
Death craves of heaven that she may not bereave her ;
The Heavens know their own, and do maintain her.
Delight, love, reason, virtue, let it be
To set all women light but only she.



HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

OR 1669

BY JOHN H. H. H. H.

THE HONORABLE THE LADY OF CLARENDON

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IT has been the inveterate fashion of history to ascribe to the influence of this Lady most of the errors of the reign of her unfortunate consort. Royalist and republican writers have joined in this censure with equal readiness; the one with a view of shifting from the conduct of the King on her defenceless memory the blame of all evil counsels which she might by possibility have suggested, the other to discredit his character by the imputation of a weak and servile compliance with the capricious will of a woman whom he loved. Amidst a cloud of prejudice; and error often wilful, each has been to a certain degree just. Almost all however but her beauty has been in some measure misrepresented, and that, indeed, till now, has never received full justice from the graver.

Henrietta Maria was the sixth and youngest child of Henry the fourth of France, by Mary, daughter of Francis de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was born on the twenty-fifth of November, 1609, exactly six months before the murder of her incomparable father. She had scarcely passed the years of childhood when her kinsman, Charles de Bourbon, Count of Soissons, and second Prince of the blood of France, openly pretended to her hand, and for three years together pressed his suit with a pertinacity to which the opinion of the French Council of Regency, and even a formal prohibition in the name of the minor Monarch, her brother, Louis the thirteenth, were vainly opposed. The embarrassment produced by the Count's passion, which seems however to have met with little encouragement from herself, had prevented the eligible addresses of some foreign Princes, when at

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length Charles, passing through Paris in 1623 on his fruitless matrimonial journey to Spain, had an opportunity, himself wholly unobserved, of seeing her at a ball in the Louvre ; was struck by her charms ; and, on the dissolution of the treaty for the Infanta, determined to solicit his father's permission to his demanding her in marriage. James, though the measure was contrary to much of his habitual policy, was induced, chiefly by the splendor of the alliance, to consent ; France, with stronger motives, readily accepted the proposal ; and it was presently negotiated at Paris by the Earls of Carlisle and Holland, in a memoir of the latter of which noblemen, which has already appeared in this work, some remarkable particulars relative to the treaty may be found. The ceremony of the espousals was performed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault (not de Richelieu, as many writers have it) at Notre Dame, on the eleventh of May, 1625 ; and on the twenty-second of the next month the young Queen, for James died before the completion of the marriage, landed at Dover.

We have abundant relations of the delicate and refined greetings which occurred on the first meeting of Charles and his lovely bride. A small and superficial narrative, printed in London in 1671, two years after her death, and the only piece of biography hitherto dedicated to her memory, informs us, prettily enough, that “ Charles received her at Dover on the top of the stairs, she striving, on her knees, to kiss his hands, and he preventing her with civilities on her lips : that, being retired, she wept, and he kissed off her tears, professing he would do so till she had done, and persuading her that she was not fallen into the hands of strangers, as she apprehended, tremblingly, but into the wise disposal of God, who would have her leave her kindred, and cleave to her spouse ; he professing to be no longer master of himself than whilst he was servant to her.” Soon after, they fell into more composed conversation, and, says the writer of a private letter, Charles took her up in his arms, kissed her, and, talking with her, cast down his eyes towards her feet, she, seeming taller than

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report was, reaching to his shoulders ; which she soon perceiving discovered, and shewed him her shoes, saying to this effect, “ Sir, I stand upon mine own feet. I have no help by art. Thus high I am, and am rather higher than lower.” But to proceed to matters more serious—

Henrietta Maria was a zealous, not to say bigoted, disciple of the church of Rome, and her family had obtained terms from James on that score, to which it is surprising that a Prince who affected to be the chief patron of the reformers should have consented. She came, says father Daniel, “ avec toutes les précautions prisés pour la liberté et la sureté de sa religion ;” but many of these extended far beyond the provisions necessary to secure to her the freedom of religious worship ; for example, it was even stipulated by the treaty that the education of her children till they reached the age of thirteen should be solely under her controul. The French clergy who formed part of her suite on her arrival were intoxicated by these concessions. They were in number twenty-eight, with a Bishop at their head, and they came full fraught with hopes and expedients for the restoration of the ancient faith. In this view they lost no time in practising it's ceremonies with the utmost publicity, and frequently made her a personal partaker in them, as a most surprising instance of which, they persuaded her to walk through the streets in procession, in a rainy day, from Somerset-house, her residence, to Tyburn, to offer up her prayers for the souls of Catholics who had been executed there, among whom it must be recollected were Percy, and his associates, who had lately suffered for conspiring to destroy at a blow the King and the two Houses of Parliament. Her female attendants, with less ground of excuse, behaved with yet more insolence ; claimed places of honour which were not due to them, and in resentment for the denial of them, set the Queen, to use Charles's own words, “ in such a humour of distaste against him, as from that hour no man could say that she ever used him two days together with so much respect as he deserved of her.” New

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occasions of disgust and discord now occurred every hour. She positively rejected the establishment which the King had formed for her household, on the plan of that of his late mother; and, upon his refusing to admit her French attendants to the superintendence of her jointure, she told him to "take his lands to himself, for if she had no power to put whom she would into those places, she would have neither lands nor house of his, but bade him give her what he thought fit in pension." These extravagances, though but the hasty ebullitions of a sanguine temper in a girl of sixteen in the hands of bad advisers, required instant correction, and they were met by Charles with coolness and discretion. He dispatched the Lord Carleton to Paris to complain of them, and his instructions to that nobleman, dated at Wansted, on the twelfth of July, 1626, furnish the authority for what has been here reported.

Charles ascribed this waywardness chiefly to the influence of the Queen's French attendants, and his anger against them increased in an equal measure with his averseness to attribute it to the temper of his lovely bride. He had long meditated to send them home. So early as the twentieth of November, in the preceding year, he proposes it in a letter to Buckingham, in which he speaks of "the maliciousness of the Monsieurs, by making and fomenting discontentments in his wife," and concludes by saying "I am resolute: it must be done, and that shortly." He delayed it however till the summer, when, on the first of July, he communicated his determination to them in person, and refused to hear their apologies; and, on the seventh of August, in a moment evidently of the highest irritation wrote thus to Buckingham—

"Steenie,

I have received your letter by Dic Greame—this is my answer. I command you to send all the French away tomorrow out of the town: if you can, by fair meanes, but stick not long in

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disputing—otherwayes, force them away lyke so many wylde beastes, untill you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me heare no more answer but of the performance of my command.

Oaking “ Your faithfull, constant, loving frend,
the 7th of August, 1626. CHARLES R.”

That the arrogance and impertinence of these persons had exceeded all due bounds of decency there can be little doubt, but the true cause of the Queen's misbehaviour was wholly unknown to Charles, and in a great measure to herself, and was of a character so singular, and indeed so romantic, that, were it not disclosed to us under an undubitable authority, it would be absolutely incredible. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been to Paris to escort her to England, was mad enough, during his short visit to the French court, to strive to win the affections of Anne of Austria, Louis the thirteenth's Queen, a lady less remarkable for her prudence than for her beauty. When the day arrived for Henrietta Maria's departure, he tore himself from Paris with the utmost difficulty, and, such was his infatuation, that he left her at Boulogne, pretending that he had at that moment received an important commission from his master to the Queen Regent, and hurried back for the sake of one brief interview with Anne, whom he found in bed, and almost alone, and towards whom he behaved with a frantic temerity and extravagance which is curiously described in the conclusion of the fourth volume of de Retz's Memoirs. These circumstances were presently conveyed to Louis, and, had he ventured on such another visit, “ provision,” says Lord Clarendon, “ was made for his reception; and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger; but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with her, in spite of the strength and power of France: and, from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways

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he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and Nation ; and omitted no opportunity to incense the King against France ; and, which was worse than all this, took great pains to lessen the King's affection towards his young Queen, being exceedingly jealous lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs ; and, in this stratagem, he had brought himself to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards the Queen, so that, upon expostulations with her on a trivial occasion, he told her she should repent it ; and her Majesty answering with some quickness, he replied insolently to her that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads." There can be little doubt that the misconduct of her French servants had been indirectly prompted by Buckingham, and formed a part of his wild and ungenerous plan for the gratification of his hatred to their nation, at the expence of the public and private peace of his too beneficent master.

Buckingham lived long enough to carry his vengeance to the utmost by forcing Charles into a war with France, in the midst of which he was taken off by assassination. From the hour of that event the most perfect cordiality ensued between the King and Queen, founded on a singular agreement, or rather on an harmonious discord, of minds and tempers, which had been hitherto restrained by untoward circumstances from their natural action. Charles, the main features of whose character were compliance and confidence, now, freed from doubts and jealousies, became, for the first time since his marriage, the ardent and submissive lover ; while his fair consort, who with an equal measure of tenderness mingled a disposition to rule and to persevere, rose as suddenly from an artificial state of almost childish insignificance to participate in the government of an empire. Clarendon, to whose justness and severity of judgement such a contingency could not but have been highly offensive, thus describes, perhaps with some grains of prejudice, the relative situations of these eminent persons at that time, and indeed ever after—

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“ The King’s affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary alloy—a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment, and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her, which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections, so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs (from which she had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham, whilst he lived) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them, in which her passions were always strong. She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and meddling with nothing, during the time of that great favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things, and disposing all things, and thought it but just that she should dispose of all favours and preferments as he had done, at least that nothing of that kind might be done without her privity, not considering that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone was not with reference to his person but his power, and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint if it resided in any other person than the King himself; and she so far concurred with the King’s inclination, that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power, than that all the world should take notice that she was the entire mistress of it; which, in truth (what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in the mischief), was the foundation upon which the first, and the utmost prejudices to the King and his government were raised and prosecuted; and it was her Majesty’s and the kingdom’s misfortune that she had not any person about her who had either ability or affection to inform and advise her of

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the temper of the kingdom, or humour of the people, or who thought either worth the caring for."

Burnet, another contemporary, but more removed from the sphere of action than Clarendon; more prejudiced, and less faithful in relation, thus characterises her—"The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all sorts, but was not so secret in them as such times and such affairs required. She was bad at contrivance, but much worse in the execution; but by the liveliness of her discourse she made always a great impression on the King; and to her little practises, as well as to the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing." It is to pictures like these—to general representations—that we must of necessity in a great measure trust in cases the very nature of which forbids the possibility of obtaining historical proofs of particular facts.

The Queen's exertions of her newly acquired influence met with frequent contradictions. The carriage of the Lord Treasurer Weston towards her, as has been already observed in a sketch of his life in this work, was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion: receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion; and in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. Her interference in affairs was not more vexatious now to Weston's irritability than afterwards to Strafford's wisdom, and she regarded that great man with fear, and therefore with some degree of aversion. Burnet plainly points her out as the final cause of his death. He says that Lord Holles, who was brother-in-law to the Earl, and a man deeply engaged with the popular party in Parliament, had suggested to Charles, after he had passed the bill of attainder, a plan for saving him, which was this: that Strafford should prefer

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a petition to the King for a short respite, and that Charles, in person, should the next day lay it before the two Houses, as for their advice; Holles promising, says Burnet, “to make interest among his numerous friends to get them to consent to it, and he had prepared a great many by assuring them that if they would save Lord Strafford, he would become wholly their’s, in consequence of his first principles; and that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points; and in this he had wrought on so many that he believed, if the King’s party had struck into it, he had saved Strafford.” But the Bishop adds that it was whispered to the Queen that a part of Holles’s engagement to his friends was that Strafford should accuse her, and that therefore she not only persuaded the King, instead of moving the Parliament personally on the matter, to send a message to the House of Lords, written with his own hand, by the Prince of Wales, but to add to it, at the conclusion, those dastardly and fatal words, “if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.”

A moment’s reflection on the signal grandeur of Strafford’s character will invalidate the whole of this most improbable tale, for if that part of it which relates to him be untrue, and it is incredible that he should have been a party in such a negotiation, no reason remains for believing the vile accusation against the Queen. Amidst the abundance of libels which were about this time poured forth against her, it is remarkable that none are to be found which charge her with a vindictive spirit. She was assailed and threatened by the most brutal and unmanly attacks, which for a short time she disregarded with becoming firmness. She calmly dispatched letters missive, by Sir Kenelm Digby, Walter Montagu, and others, to solicit loans from the Catholics of England and Wales for the relief of Charles’s necessities; and it has been said that the King was prompted chiefly by her persuasion to the bold and unhappy measure of demanding the

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impeached members in the House of Commons. Echard, an historian generally of credit, ridiculously tells us that she said furiously to Charles, "Allez, Poltron—pull the rogues out by the ears, or never see me more," and compleats the absurdity of his story by quoting his authority. "It appears," says he, "from a private account given by Sir William Coke, of Norfolk, from Mr. Anchitel Grey, brother to the Lord Grey of Groby, that the King, going in the morning into the Queen's apartment, finding the Countess of Carlisle with her, retired with her into her closet, where she used those words, which the Countess overheard, and discovered them to Mr. Pym."

This bold spirit however was soon daunted for the time. The public disorders increased, and she became suddenly terrified by apprehensions for her personal safety. Sir Philip Warwick says, "the Queen was ever more forward than stout." Be that as it might, these painful impressions became presently so strong as to induce her earnestly to solicit Charles's permission to retire into France. She obtained it just at the period when the bill for depriving the Bishops of their votes had passed the two Houses, and was waiting for the King's assent, which he steadfastly refused; when it was whispered to her by Sir John Colepeper, a loyal servant, but a friend to that measure, that if Charles persisted in his denial the Parliament would prohibit her journey; on which she implored the King with such pathetic importunities that he finally gave way, and thus that great wound was inflicted on the hierarchy by her fears. The King now accompanied her to Dover, where, on the twenty-third of February, 1642, O.S. she embarked, with her daughter, the Princess of Orange, for Holland.

There were, however, other motives for her visit to the Continent. It was now evident that the contest between the King and the Parliament must be decided by the sword, and he possessed scarcely the means to equip a single regiment. The Queen, who had before her departure sent most of her plate to the mint,

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carried the remainder secretly with her to Holland, together with her own jewels, and many of great value belonging to the Crown, which she there pawned or sold, and laid out the produce in large purchases of arms and ammunition, in spite of the discouragement of the states, who were notoriously adverse to the King's cause. At length, her spirits recruited by safety, and invigorated by reflection on the greatness of the occasion, she sailed to his assistance, the war now fully raging, with a small convoy, furnished by her son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, and disembarked at Burlington, in Yorkshire, where she was met by the Earl of Newcastle, with a sufficient guard. Of the dangers and difficulties which attended her landing, a narrative, written by herself, is extant, a few passages from which perhaps may not be unacceptable—"The next night after we came to Burlington four of the Parliament's ships arrived, without being perceived by us, and about five of the clock in the morning begun to ply us so fast with their ordnance that they made us all rise out of our beds, and leave the village. One of the ships did me the favour to flank upon the house where I lay, and before I was out of my bed the cannon bullets whistled so loud about me that all the company pressed me earnestly to go out of the house, their cannon having totally beaten down all the neighbour houses, and two cannon bullets falling from the top to the bottom of the house where I was; so that, cloathed as well as in haste I could be, I went on foot some little distance out of the town, under the shelter of a ditch, like that of Newmarket, whither before I could get, the cannon bullets fell thick about us, and a servant was killed within seventy paces of me. We in the end gained the ditch, and stayed there two hours, whilst their cannon played all the while on us. The bullets flew, for the most part, over our heads; some few only, grazing on the ditch, covered us with earth, &c. till the ebbing of the tide, and the threats of the Holland Admiral, put an end to that danger."

We discern in this letter a transient spark of the mighty spirit

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of her father, nor was it instantly extinguished, for now, having been escorted to York by a body of Horse, commanded by the Earl of Montrose and Lord Ogilvie, she presently raised a powerful force, and marched towards the King, with thirty troops of Horse and Dragoons, and three thousand infantry, at whose head she rode as their commander. She met him at Edge Hill, and accompanied him to Oxford, where she remained, with little intermission, till the spring of 1644, when the rebel Commons having impeached her of high treason, and the royal army suffering some sad reverses of fortune, she fell again under the influence of terror, and, quitting Oxford on the seventeenth of April, then great with child, took leave at Abingdon, for ever in this world, of her royal husband, and travelling towards the western coast arrived at Exeter, where she was delivered of a daughter, and from thence in little more than a fortnight, to Pendennis, in Cornwall, where she embarked for France, and on the fifteenth of July arrived at Brest. She had exacted two promises from Charles at their parting; the one, that he would receive no person who had at any time injured him into his favour or trust without her consent; the other, that he would not make peace with the rebels but through her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might know the share that she had in procuring it; and his religious observance of those engagements is thought, perhaps erroneously, to have produced ill consequences. The truth is that she would have sacrificed all for conquest. Her exertions therefore in her exile, while *hopé* remained, were unre-mitted. From France, where the death of Louis, and of Cardinal Richelieu, had placed her mother once more in the station of Regent, and in absolute power, it is not strange that she should have obtained extensive supplies; but she presently established English agents in most of the Courts of Europe, and raised, and conveyed to England and Ireland, from time to time, immense sums. Her negotiations were chiefly managed by herself, and with a caution, and regularity, and dispatch, which prove her

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to have possessed talents for which she has hitherto had little credit. It is almost needless to say that these were vain labours. The time approached when she was to be debarred from all duties but such as might strictly and immediately apply to the person of her King and husband, and when it arrived, she wrote, through the French minister in London to those who ruled there, imploring them to grant her "a pass to come over to him; offering to use all her credit with him to induce him to give them satisfaction; and, if they would not allow her to perform those offices on public grounds, that she might at least be permitted to see him, and to be near him in his uttermost extremity." She received no answer.

After the murder of Charles, and a considerable time passed in privacy in the convent at St. Cloud, the Queen again appeared at the French Court. The Palais Royal, and the Castle of St. Germain, were allotted to her for her residences, and an allowance, suitable to her rank, for the support of her family. That, however, and other of her comforts, were gradually curtailed as Cromwell's government gained strength, and France, under the guidance of Cardinal Mazarin, adopted towards it a complaisant policy. She became at length subjected to serious pecuniary inconveniences, and it has been repeated by several writers, on the doubtful authority of de Retz's Memoirs, that she petitioned the Usurper for a pension, which he refused; but that she should have condescended to this is nearly incredible. In the mean time her life was embittered by the indifference with which the young King, her son, treated that advice which perhaps she was ever too ready to give; and by the resistance offered by him and his counsellors to her constant endeavours to instil into her children the principles of her religious faith. Her chief consolation seems now to have been derived from the society, and the services, of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, who had been for many years her favourite servant, and now managed all her affairs, as well domestic as political. It has been surmised, and perhaps

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truly, that she was privately married to that nobleman, but the rumour rests solely on the authority of a very vague passage in the memoirs of Sir John Reresby. The Queen returned to England on the second of November, 1660, and quitted it again for France on the twenty-fifth of the following January: came once more on the twenty-eighth of July, 1662, and left it finally on the twenty-ninth of June, 1665. In these visits we find nothing respecting her worthy of notice, except the highly characteristic circumstances of her conduct on the discovery of the marriage of the Duke of York to the daughter of Lord Clarendon, which are related by that nobleman, at too great length to permit the insertion of them here, in "the Continuation" of his Life.

Queen Henrietta Maria died at the castle of Colombe, four leagues from Paris, on the tenth of August, 1669, N. S. and was buried with her ancestors in the royal abbey of St. Denis.



EDWARD MONTAGU, EARL OF SANDWICH

OB. 1672

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE COUNTESS OF SANDWICH

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THE annals of England present few brighter objects to our view than the character of this eminent person. In thirty years' service, as a soldier, a sailor, and a statesman, such were his uprightness and his prudence, that not the slightest suspicion ever fell reasonably on his public conduct; and such the generosity of his mind, and the sweetness of his temper, that he seems to have lived not only without an enemy, but unassailed, except perhaps in a single instance, even by envy. The transcendent purity of his principles enabled him to devote the one half of his life to the rebel government, and the other to the King's, without incurring the reproach of either party. Under the influence of others, and scarcely emerged from boyhood, he engaged with the former, and, joining neither in its intrigues or its hypocrisy, served it with the simplest fidelity: When the spurious sceptre fell from the hand of Richard Cromwell, he proffered his allegiance to Charles, under no temptation or bargain on the one hand, with no sacrifice of principle or betrayal of trust on the other, and was distinguished by the honest zeal which he uniformly displayed in the service of the crown.

He was the only son of Sir Sidney Montagu, sixth and youngest brother of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton, by Paulina, third daughter of John Pepys, of Cottenham, in the county of Cambridge, and was born on the twenty-seventh of July, 1625. His father had passed his life in the household service of James and Charles the first; was earnestly attached to their family and to Monarchy; and although he had in the beginning of the discontents moderately espoused the popular party in the House of

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Commons, had been expelled the Long Parliament for refusing to take the absurd oath by which a great majority of its members bound themselves, on the appointment of the Earl of Essex to the command of the rebel army, "to live and die with him." It may be reasonable to presume that the son had received strong impressions of loyalty from such a parent, and so probably he had, when they were presently obliterated by his marriage, at the age of seventeen, to Jemima, daughter of John, Lord Crewe, a nobleman deeply infected by the political schism of the time. Their union took place on the seventh of November, 1642, and the death of his father, not many months after, left him wholly under the influence of this new connection, and completed his estrangement from the royal party.

The young proselyte was not long unemployed. He received in August, 1643, a commission from the Parliament to raise a regiment of a thousand men in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, and to take the command of it with the title of Colonel. It is probable that he owed this early distinction to Cromwell, who was his neighbour in the country, and with whom it is certain that he then, or soon after, formed a personal friendship, warm at least on his part, to which his lasting attachment to the rebel cause seems to have been solely owing. His levies were speedily made, and we find him at the head of his corps, with the troops which stormed Lincoln, on the sixth of May, 1644; in the battle of Marston Moor on the second of the succeeding July; and, in the same month, with the army which then besieged York, where he was appointed one of the Commissioners to receive the capitulation of that city. In the following summer he commanded his regiment at the battle of Naseby, and, a few weeks after, at the siege of Bridgewater; and conducted himself in these several services with so much prudence, as well as bravery, that he was intrusted in the beginning of September, 1645, to lead a brigade of four regiments at the important siege of Bristol, on the surrender of which, in the course of that month, he was dispatched

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by Fairfax and Cromwell to communicate the news to the Parliament.

He had succeeded to his father in the representation of the county of Huntingdon in the House of Commons, and some of his biographers have extolled the public spirit which they say induced him to absent himself from that assembly after it fell under the dominion of the army in June, 1647. He did so, but probably from the mere carelessness of youth, and, it may be presumed, with the approbation of Cromwell, to whom his adherence continued firm. He was besides too young for any but the military purposes of his crafty friend, and the war had now ceased. We lose sight of him therefore for more than five years following that period, when the usurper, on assuming the sovereignty, under the title of Protector, nominated him of the supreme council of fifteen, ordained by the instrument of government provided on that occasion, and shortly after appointed him a Commissioner of the Treasury, and joined him to Desborough, another soldier, for the execution of the office of High Admiral. He now applied himself incessantly to the theory of naval tactics, and with such success that, in the spring of 1656, Cromwell associated him with the gallant Blake, in the command of a fleet, destined to serve in the Mediterranean against the Spaniards, in which expedition however little was done beyond the capture of some plate ships in the road of Cadiz. Blake died during this service, and in July, 1657, Montagu was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in the Downs, equipped, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "under the pretence of mediating in the Sound between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but in truth to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede, with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance." On this occasion Cromwell secretly designed to use his diplomatic, as well as his warlike services. The political talents manifested by him in the Council had not escaped the acuteness of the usurper, to whom too he had of late peculiarly endeared himself by the singular earnestness with which he had

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argued, not only publicly, but in his private intercourse with Cromwell, for the proposal made to him by his Parliament to assume the title of King. It is said that Montagu was always, to use the strong expression which Lord Clarendon applies to him, even "in love with Monarchy;" but in this instance, it must be confessed that, with the common infirmity of ardent lovers, he was blind to the imperfections of the individual object of his affection.

He was with his Fleet, in the Baltic, when Cromwell died. Richard renewed his appointment, and wrote to him, directing him "in all cases, but more particularly in such as might concern the honour of the Flag, rather to use his own discretion than to consider himself bound by the tenor of his orders." On Richard's dismissal however from the government, which presently followed, and the assumption of it by his mongrel Parliament, he found a strange reverse. He was already far engaged in negotiation with the northern powers, when that assembly issued a new commission, by which they joined with him three of their confidential friends, with the style of plenipotentiaries. Dissentions presently arose among them. One of the party was Algernon Sidney, a cynic in morals, manners, and politics, with whom no man could long agree. To add to his vexation, the Parliament at the same time gave the command of his regiment of Horse to another. At this period, Edward Montagu, his cousin, heir to the Lord Montagu of Boughton, a zealous partisan for the excluded Charles, and one of the companions of his flight, disclosed to him the plans which were then ripening in England for the restoration of that Prince. He adopted them without hesitation, and, after a brief communication, by a trusty messenger, with the King, suddenly set sail for England, leaving his brother plenipotentiaries at Copenhagen. When he arrived however on the coast, he had the mortification to find that the military insurrection, on which the royalists had built their hopes, had wholly failed, and that the leader, Sir George Booth, was a prisoner in the Tower. Montagu

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however boldly presented himself to the Parliament, amidst much clamour ; alledged that he had been compelled to return by shortness of provisions ; and produced a minute of the concurrence of his flag officers to that effect. He then resigned his command, and the Parliament, abundantly occupied with other causes, which began to threaten it's very existence, agreed to defer any further examination of his matter till the coming of the other three commissioners. He was suffered therefore, says Lord Clarendon, " to go quietly into the country, and remained, neglected and forgotten, till they could be more at leisure (for it was then about the time they grew jealous of Lambert) till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the Parliament, and General Monck's march into England ; and till near the time that the name and title of that Parliament was wholly abolished and extinguished ; and then the secluded members, being restored, called him to resume the command of the Fleet."

Monck, as a compliment to that General, was joined with him in this command, which was not confined, as might be inferred from the terms used by Clarendon, to the fleet which he had left in the Baltic, but extended to the entire navy. It was in fact what would have been termed in times of regular government a commission for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England. Montagu, to prove the sincerity of his professions, sent privately to request, and it is needless to say obtained, the King's ratification of the appointment ; and Lawson, a celebrated seaman, but an anabaptist republican, to whom the authority of that station had been entrusted, and who had filled the fleet with persons of his own persuasion, consented, without a murmur, to serve under him. The Restoration, to be complete, now waited only for forms to which Montagu's impatience could not submit. He set sail to the coast of Holland without orders from the Parliament, to the great offence of many members of that body, leaving only two or three of the smaller ships, to convey those who were appointed to

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wait on the King with a regular invitation. On his arrival, he surrendered his command to the Duke of York, who was appointed High Admiral; and, a few days after, received Charles on board his own ship, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1660, landed him triumphantly at Dover. The King, while on his road to London, sent Sir Edward Walker to the Downs, to invest him with the Ensigns of the Garter, and on the twelfth of the following July, advanced him to the Peerage by the titles of Baron Montagu of St. Neots, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Earl of Sandwich. Nearly at the same time, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas, Vice Admiral of England, and Master of the King's Wardrobe.

In June, 1661, he sailed on an expedition against the piratical states of Barbary, and made a gallant but unsuccessful attack on Algiers, from whence he retired, leaving Lawson, with a force sufficient to block up that port, and visited Tangier, a city on the same coast, which it will be recollected formed the main part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza, and of which he now took formal possession in the name of his master. Having placed an English garrison there, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, he proceeded to Lisbon, where, having officiated as proxy for Charles in the ceremony of espousing that Lady, she embarked on board his ship, and, on the fourteenth of May, 1662, he presented her at Portsmouth to the King, her husband. Two years of peace succeeded, when, in 1664, on the resolution for a war with the Dutch, the commencement of which was so long deferred, he took the command of a fleet of observation, which was no otherwise employed till the month of March, in the following year, when, the war being declared, he was appointed to lead the blue squadron, under the Duke of York, who now personally acted as High Admiral. The opening of the campaign was eminently successful. Nearly two hundred rich merchantmen fell into the hands of the English, and, on the third of June, a general engagement occurred, in which eighteen of the

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finest ships of war in the Dutch service were captured, and fourteen destroyed, in one of which was blown up Opdam, the commander of their Fleet. In this action Sandwich practiced, perhaps for the first time, the bold expedient, a repetition of which in our day has justly acquired so much credit, of breaking the enemy's line, which accelerated a victory that his skill and bravery had before rendered inevitable.

The Fleet now returned to England to refit, and, the Duke having relinquished the command to Sandwich, he sailed from Torbay in the beginning of July for the Texel, where finding that it would be long before the enemy's fleet could again put to sea, he steered northward, with the double view of intercepting a squadron, under the celebrated de Ruyter, on its return from Newfoundland, and of falling in with the Turkey and East India Fleets, which were said to have anchored for a while at Bergen. Neither of these enterprizes succeeded: de Ruyter passed the English, under cover of a fog, with the loss only of eight ships of war, and arrived safely in Holland, and the usual vigour of the Earl is said to have been restrained at Bergen by his doubts on the actual state of a negotiation which he knew to be in progress between Charles and the King of Denmark. He captured however a great number of rich merchant ships, and received on his return abundant proofs that this partial miscarriage had not impaired his reputation in the opinion either of the King or the people: yet in that moment the keenest vexation that he had ever suffered was closely impending. On his voyage homeward, his flag officers had besought him to distribute among them some part of the merchandize which had been taken, to which he consented, all parties seeming to have forgotten, as probably they really had, the Admiralty rule that bulk, as it is called, of any captured ship shall not be broken till it be brought into port, and adjudged to be lawful prize. Sandwich had however the precaution to apply for the King's approbation, which he obtained, but

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he had put the measure into execution before it arrived, having given to each officer goods estimated at one thousand pounds, and taken for himself to the value of two thousand.

This act of folly, for it deserved no worse name, was no sooner known than the most furious outcry was raised against him by all who could pretend to take an interest in the affair. Monck, who was at the head of the Admiralty, and had long regarded him with jealousy, sent unnecessary orders to all the ports to seize the property, and omitted no other indignity which his official authority enabled him to practice: Sir William Coventry, who was the Duke's peculiar confidant, used all endeavours to ruin him in the opinion of that Prince, who was already, perhaps with some justice, offended that his Vice Admiral should have presumed to dispense bounties which it belonged to himself only to bestow: the King was displeased that he should have ventured to act on the royal approbation before he had received it, and the more, because he was angry with himself for having granted it: and all the officers of the navy, with the exception of those whom he had intended to gratify, together with the whole body of seamen, complained loudly that a plan had been laid to defraud them of a part of their prize money. At length a rumour was raised of an impeachment in Parliament, and the authors of it, Monck and Coventry, persuaded the King that nothing could prevent such a proceeding but the removal of Sandwich from his command, which was indeed their sole object. The King, on the other hand, whose resentments were never lasting, was anxious to protect him, and disposed of him accordingly without disgrace, appointing him Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, a mission always highly honourable, and just at this time requiring extraordinary talents, and undoubted fidelity. I have been the more particular in the foregoing relation because all the Earl's biographers, with that absurd and servile tenderness which is in the end almost always more injurious than the plain truth to

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the memory of the eminent dead, have thought fit to leave it wholly untold. It is to be found, given most circumstantially, in Lord Clarendon's Life of himself.

Sandwich arrived at Madrid on the twenty-eighth of May, 1666, and was received with distinctions more cordial and magnificent than were then usually allowed to foreign ministers by that cold and ceremonious Court. His conduct in all circumstances proved how highly he merited them. The objects of his mission were to negotiate a treaty of commerce with England, and to mediate a peace between Spain and Portugal, a proposal involving points of great difficulty, inevitable in an effort to reconcile a parent state to the independence of a revolted province. They yielded however to his sagacity. Never was embassy more uniformly successful: and he returned, after an absence of two years, which his friends, his enemies, and himself, had considered but as an honourable exile, to renewed royal favour, and increased popularity; with the reputation of a profound statesman ingrafted on that of a brave and prudent commander. Neither this deviation into the character of a public minister, nor the flattering applause which he had acquired in it, could betray his generous mind into any engagement in political party at home. He accepted soon after his return the office of President of the Council of Trade and Plantations, and seems to have confined himself to the performance of the duties which it demanded. He is said to have opposed strenuously in Council the sale of Dunkirk, and to have argued there, with equal warmth, in favour of a strict alliance with Spain, as a counterpoise to the power of Louis the fourteenth, and we find scarcely any other instances of his interference in state affairs.

At length, fatally for himself, he was restored to the naval service, and in the spring of 1672, on the renewal of the Dutch war, again appointed Vice Admiral of the fleet under the Duke of York. They sailed to meet the enemy in the Channel, whom on the nineteenth of May they descried some leagues off the

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coast of Suffolk. A thick fog however prevented them from approaching each other for many days, during which the English lay at anchor in Southwold bay, better known as Solebay. On the twenty-eighth, while they were gayly preparing for the celebration of the following day, the anniversary of the Restoration, they were surprised by the Dutch, so suddenly as barely to allow them time to weigh anchor, and to form a very imperfect line. As the battle began and was fought in confusion, not less confused, and even contradictory, are the accounts of it which have been delivered to us. Thus much only is certain—that the Dutch Admiral, Van Ghent, commenced it by attacking the blue squadron, commanded by Sandwich, whose ship gave the first broadside that was fired: that the Earl, after having performed prodigies of valour, disabled many of the enemy's ships, and lost three fourths of his men, was suddenly surrounded by fire-ships; that his Vice Admiral, Jordaine, with his division, basely and disobediently left him at this fearful juncture, to flatter the Duke, who was just then somewhat pressed, by a shew of anxiety to succour him; that Sandwich, having sunk three of the fire-ships, was grappled by a fourth, which set his ship in flames; and that, having stedfastly refused to enter the long-boat, in which many of the survivors were saved, he remained almost alone, and perished.

His body was found several days after, floating on the sea, into which it was evident that he had plunged to avoid the greater corporal misery, as marks of burning were strongly visible on his face and breast. He is said to have received an affront from the High Admiral immediately previous to the action, and to have gone into it therefore with a determination to die. Among others, two eminent historians, however discordant as to another particular which they respectively relate, agree in making that report, as well as in ascribing his fatal resolution to the same motive. Burnet tells us that “the Admiral of the blue squadron was burned by a fire-ship, after a long engagement

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with a Dutch ship much inferior to him in strength," and adds "in it the Earl of Sandwich perished, with many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made on an advice he had offered of drawing nearer the shore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself than of the King's honour." Bishop Kennet says "the day before there was great jollity and feasting in the English fleet, in the midst of which my Lord of Sandwich was observed to say that, as the wind stood, the fleet rode in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, and therefore thought it adviseable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea. The Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, slighted the advice, and retorted upon the Earl that he spoke this out of fear, which reflection his Lordship is thought to have so far resented as the next day, out of indignation, to have sacrificed his life, which he might have otherwise preserved."

His remains were deposited, with the honours of a public funeral, in Henry the seventh's chapel, in the same vault with those of his competitor, Monck. His character, which has been here but slightly touched on, is given at great length, and with uncommon minuteness, in a manuscript in the French language, which is preserved in the Harleian collection, and exhibits a glowing picture of the perfection of humanity. It is too extensive to be admitted in this place, being in fact a small volume, but the brief description of his person, with which it commences, ought not to be omitted, and it is to be regretted that in a work of this nature such notices cannot be more frequently introduced. "Edouard, Comte de Sanduich," says the manuscript, "est bien fait, de sa personne; l'air doux, heureux, engageant; le visage assez plein; les traits agreables; la couleur vermeille, tirant sur le clair brun; les yeux mediocrement grands, bruns, vifs, penetrans, pleins de feux; la teste belle, et les cheveux naturellement bouclés, et d'un châtain brun; la taille plustost grande que

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petite ; assez d'embonpoint, mais qui ne com̃ensa de l'incommode q'apres son retour de l'ambassade d'Espagne."

This Nobleman had by his lady, already spoken of, six sons ; Edward, his successor ; Sidney ; Oliver ; John ; Charles ; and James ; and four daughters ; Jemima, married to Sir Philip Carteret ; Paulina, who died unmarried ; Anne, wife to Sir Richard Edgecumbe, of Mount Edgecumbe, in Devon ; and Catherine, married to Nicholas Bacon, of Shrubland Hall, in Suffolk.



GEORGE DIGBY, EARL OF BRISTOL.

OB. 1677

THE RT HON^{BLE} THE EARL SPENCER

GEORGE DIGBY,

SECOND EARL OF BRISTOL.

AMIDST the endless variety of characters by the invention of which romance-writers have amused the minds, or insulted the understandings, of their readers, we seek in vain for one wholly made up of inconsistencies — of a man, for instance, who, with the most splendid talents, lived regularly in the practice of absurdities; and who, with a kind and benevolent temper, made himself continually the instrument of injury and vexation to his friends; who, with a nice sense of honour, fell not unfrequently into the utterance of deliberate falsehoods; who abandoned in the face of the world a religion for which he had been a polemical champion, to adopt one which in his writings he had utterly condemned; and who, from a fervid popular orator and actor, became, as it were in a moment, a very type of courtly compliance. Such a character is of rare occurrence in nature, and the fabulist dare not trust his imagination to form it, lest he might be charged with representing a being absolutely out of nature — a reference however to the story of this nobleman's life would always guard him against such a censure.

George Digby was the eldest son of John, first Baron Digby, to whom the title of Earl of Bristol was granted in 1622, by Beatrice, daughter of Charles Walcot, of Walcot in Salop, and widow of Sir John Dive, of Bromham, in Bedfordshire, and was born in October, 1612, at Madrid, where his father was then the English Ambassador. The general diplomatic skill of that nobleman, and the intimate knowledge which he had acquired of the State and Court of Spain, induced James to send him again thither in the spring of 1622, intrusted with ample powers to nego-

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tiate and conclude the treaty for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta. It is well known that the design was ruined when it was on the point of fruition by the imprudence and impetuosity of Buckingham. A furious discord ensued between Bristol and the favourite, through whose influence the Earl, on his return from Madrid in 1624, became the object of a tedious persecution, with which this memoir would have little concern, were it not for a singular circumstance which marked the commencement of it. Having been committed to the Tower immediately on his arrival in London, he formed the resolution, remarkable in those days, of appealing for redress to the House of Commons, and made his son the bearer of his petition. The child, for he was only twelve years old, and it seems of incomparable beauty, not only presented it at the bar with a graceful confidence which instantly attracted attention, but accompanied the action by the delivery of a few apt sentences, with a simplicity of feeling, and a correctness of fluent expression, which excited the astonishment of the House to the utmost.

His education had been conducted with the greatest care, on the continent, and after his return, under the immediate superintendence of his father; and on the fifteenth of October, 1626, he was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he remained for a few years, the wonder of his teachers, and the envy of his compeers, for the extent and variety of his natural talents, and of acquirements which he seemed to gain without effort. He then joined his father, who was at that time, and for several years after, living in a sort of honourable exile at his seat of Sherborne Castle, in Dorsetshire, and plunged into a course of reading so universal as to embrace almost every branch of literature. Nor was his pen unemployed during this season of retirement, which seems to have lasted even for some years. He wrote much and variously, though few of his productions were committed to the press, at least with his name. That which has been most spoken of is a modest and polite, though severe invective against the

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Church of Rome, addressed to his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby, and not published till 1650; a discourse which seems however to have owed more of its credit to the general reputation of the author, than to any distinct merit in itself. The public affairs of the time appear hitherto to have engaged no share of his attention, when an accident is said to have suddenly converted him into a political partizan. During one of his short occasional visits to London, a rencontre occurred between himself and a gentleman of the court, whom he wounded and disarmed, and the scene of their contest was unluckily within the precincts of the palace of Whitehall. He was immediately imprisoned, and proceeded against with a severity short only of the corporal mutilation ordained by the ancient law against such offenders. His fault thus expiated, he returned to his father, vowing vengeance against the Court, nor was it long before he found himself possessed of the most convenient means of inflicting it, for he was elected to serve for the county of Dorset, in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640.

Though this assembly was dissolved before it had sat a full month, Digby, ardent and acute as he was, had ample time to make himself known to the leaders of the faction which he intended to join, who, on their part, received with rapture an ally so promising. He was again returned for Dorsetshire to the Long Parliament, which met on the third of the succeeding November, and was immediately appointed by them to the important office of moving for a select committee to frame a remonstrance to the King on the public grievances, which he did, only six days after, in a speech of chaste and simple eloquence almost wholly new to that House. One passage, and that the most highly ornamented in the address, is so admirably conceived, and so artfully and elegantly expressed, that it may perhaps seem more necessary to apologise for the omission of others than for the insertion of this—"It hath been a metaphor," said he, "frequently in Parliament, and, if my memory fail me not, was made

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use of in the Lord Keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what money Kings raised from their subjects, it was but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how? to darken the sun's own lustre; and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, and to blast and wither our affections, had not the latter of these been kept alive by our King's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill counselors, a sacred object both of our admiration and our love."

This speech was followed in quick succession by others, equally bold, brilliant, and judicious, on all the great topics of complaint which distinguished that session. The admiration of those who governed the party was presently succeeded by their implicit confidence. They communicated to him all their plans, and admitted him to an equal share of their authority. Thus he became a chief instrument in the prosecution of Strafford, and it has been even said that the charge of high treason against that great man would have been abandoned but for the excitement produced by the close reasoning, and the polished bitterness, of Digby's invectives. Will it be believed that, even during the trial, on which he was one of the managers, he commenced a secret treaty with some of the royal party; proposed to abandon the malcontents, and to devote his services, generally and implicitly, to the Crown? and, to prove his sincerity, he conveyed to them, to be placed in the hands of the King, a most important original paper, which he had privily abstracted for that purpose from the mass of documentary evidence to be used against Strafford. The loss of the paper in question was taken up by the House with great seriousness, and an order was made that the members of the Committee for the prosecution should indi-

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vidually make a solemn declaration of their utter ignorance of the cause of it's absence, which Digby is said to have performed with asseverations more earnest than any of the rest; yet a copy of it, in his own hand-writing, was found in the King's cabinet when it fell into the hands of the rebels at the battle of Naseby.

It is scarcely necessary to say that his overtures were received with much satisfaction. A little time and artifice however were required to give some air of decency to a defection so signal. Digby therefore continued to act with the prosecutors, but with an increasing coolness which excited their suspicion. At length, on the third reading of the bill of attainder, he avowed openly, in an incomparable speech, his determination to vote against it, on the impregnable ground of the infamy of Sir Henry Vane's evidence. The party, in a flame of anger, instantly resolved that he should give on the morrow an explanation of many passages in his speech, which with much plausibility and ingenuity he did, but, as might be expected, with no effect on the temper of the House. Preparations were evidently making there for more serious expressions of resentment, which the King prevented by calling him on the ninth of June, 1641, to the House of Peers, by a writ of summons. Digby now printed his speech; the Commons voted that it should be burned by the hands of the hangman; and he thought fit to put forth "an Apology," in which he affirmed that it had been published without his knowledge or consent, by his brother-in-law, Sir Lewis Dive. To deny that Digby's conduct as to Strafford's case was the result of conscientious deliberation, or to insist that the rest of his most sudden political conversion had any better motive than mere caprice, would perhaps be equally unreasonable.

Charles however was little less gratified by the manner in which Lord Digby had put himself into his hands than by the acquisition of a servant so highly gifted, for it was a fault, as Lord Clarendon informs us, in the nature of that unfortunate Prince to be "too easily inclined to sudden enterprizes." A stronger,

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and far more important, mark of that disposition in him was at hand: Digby, without any communication with the ministers, had the presumption to advise, and the King the imprudence to adopt, that desperate measure of the well-known impeachments of the fifth of January, 1641-2; and here we have the most remarkable instances of the morbid irregularity, for such it seems, of the conduct of this extraordinary person. When the Attorney General accused Lord Kimbolton, the only Peer of the impeached party, at the bar of the Lords' House, Digby, who had pledged himself to the King to move for the instant commitment of that nobleman, seated himself by him, and "whispered him in the ear," says Clarendon, "that the King was very mischievously advised, and that it should go hard but he would know whence that counsel proceeded, in order to which, and to prevent further mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty;" and to the King he went, but it was to advise him to consummate the fatal rashness of the whole proceeding by personally requiring the House of Commons to deliver up the five members; and, on the retreat of those persons, together with Kimbolton, into the city, Digby offered his service to seize them, with an armed force, and to convey them, dead or alive, wheresoever the King might be pleased to command, by whom however the proposal was rejected. All this presently became publicly known. Digby, now the most unpopular man in the kingdom, saw heavy clouds of vengeance on the point of breaking over him, as well as the hourly decreasing ability of his master to shield him from their influence. An interval of timidity occurred in its turn to this most inconsistent of mankind, and he fled to Holland.

The Commons now impeached him of high treason, and pursued the prosecution with great fury for some weeks, but the unwillingness of the Peers to entertain it, and the increasing confusion of the time, caused it at length to be wholly laid aside. Digby presently became weary of exile and inactivity. It is true that the Queen was in Holland, and that his intercourse with her

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there had been highly serviceable to the Royal cause; but he had lived only in speculation, and now panted for personal exertion. He sailed therefore for England, and, landing on the northern coast, contrived to reach York undiscovered, where he had an interview with Charles, the result of which was that he should return to Holland, to make some most confidential communications to the Queen, and to expedite an expected supply of arms and ammunition. He re-imbarked in the vessel which had brought him, and which was presently after seized by a ship of the rebels, and brought into Hull. Disguised as a Frenchman, and speaking that language like a native, he lay in the hold, pretending extreme sickness, and there found means to destroy his papers. On being landed, he was confined alone, in consideration of his apparent weak state; and now, reflecting on the certainty of being eventually discovered, and on the dire vengeance which would inevitably follow, one of those sudden and romantic experiments so delightful to his nature occurred to him, and he practised it without delay. It is well known that Sir John Hotham was at this time governor of Hull, into which town, but a few weeks before the capture of Lord Digby, he had rudely and obstinately refused to admit his royal master. Hotham was a man of coarse mind and manners, and of a sullen and intractable temper; his attachment to the rebel cause may be inferred from the trust with which the Parliament had invested him, and from his late conduct towards the King; and he is even said to have had a personal aversion to the noble prisoner. Digby resolved to throw himself on the generosity of this unpromising person. He told his guard, in broken English, that he was possessed of secrets relative to the King and Queen of great importance to the service of the Parliament, which he would disclose only personally to the governor. The news was presently carried to Hotham, who ordered that the Frenchman should be brought before him. The room was full of company, and Digby entertained them for some time with fabricated French news in the

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most natural manner imaginable, till Hotham chose to withdraw him to some distance, when, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, " Digby asked him, in English, whether he knew him. The other, surprized, told him no : ' then,' said he, ' I shall try whether I know Sir John Hotham ; and whether he be in truth the same man of honour I have always taken him to be ;' and thereupon told him who he was ; and that he hoped he was too much of a gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury who he well knew were his implacable enemies." The governor, with all his faults, had feelings which were not proof against such an appeal. He concerted with Digby the means for his safety ; who, on his part, had the address, in subsequent interviews, even to induce Hotham to listen patiently to overtures for his return to his duty to the Crown, which he would have done, but for some untoward circumstances which soon after occurred.

Digby now appeared openly with the King at York. He soon after raised a regiment of Horse, which he commanded with distinguished gallantry at the battle of Edge-Hill, and then at the siege of Lichfield, in which he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and was shot with a musquet ball through the thigh. On a disagreement with Prince Rupert, who led the forces which performed this latter service, he threw up his regiment in disgust, and returned to the Court, which was then at Oxford, where a fruitless treaty between the King and the Parliament, by an article of which the rebel commissioners had insisted on excepting him from pardon, was then in progress, or very lately broken up. The inveterate and unceasing malice of the Parliament against him naturally fixed him more firmly in the esteem of the King, who now longed to give him some signal proof of approbation and confidence. An opportunity presently offered, but, in the mean time Digby, no longer a commander, joined the army as a volunteer, and in a sharp engagement with the van of Essex's army, on Aldbourne Chace, near Hungerford, was desperately hurt by the discharge of a pistol in his face, though miracu-

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lously missed by the ball. This action was immediately succeeded by the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, 1643, in which fell the Lord Falkland, and Charles presently after appointed him to succeed that incomparable nobleman in the office of a principal Secretary of State. He was about the same time elected High Steward of the University of Oxford.

Digby, with most of the talents and qualifications necessary to the advantages and the decoration of private life, possessed scarcely a single requisite for the character of a minister of state except dissimulation, and his conduct in it was not less unfortunate than imprudent. A project which he conceived in the winter of 1643 for a treaty between the King and the City of London, in its corporate capacity, hopeless enough in its own nature, was frustrated by the interception of letters; and he was soon after compleatly gulled by Brown, a rebel general, who commanded a strong garrison in Abingdon, and ensnared him into a negotiation for the delivery of that town to the King, merely to gain time for the putting it into a better state of defence for the Parliament. So too, in October, 1645, presuming on the brilliant but brief military successes of the Marquis of Montrose, he entered into an intercourse with Lesley, and some other commanders of the Scottish forces in England, without having previously gained any competent knowledge of the disposition of those officers, with the view of inducing them to bring over their army to the royal cause; and was surprized when he discovered that the crafty and treacherous Lesley had imparted their correspondence, step by step, to the leaders of the rebellion. About this time, at his suggestion, as it was believed, the King obliged Prince Rupert to resign his command, and appointed Digby Lieutenant General of all his forces north of Trent. There was a suddenness and singularity in this unexpected arrangement which suited the taste both of Charles and himself. It was agreed, as Lord Clarendon relates, at a Council of war held at

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Newark, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should lead the Horse northwards, and attempt to reinforce Montrose, when Sir Marmaduke, on accepting the charge, besought the King that he might be allowed to execute it under the command of the Lord Digby, who, being present, and making no objection, the King conferred it on him, and immediately signed a short commission, "and so," says Clarendon, "he became in a moment a General, as well as a Secretary of State, and marched presently to Doncaster." The very day following his arrival there he attacked and dispersed a large body of newly raised troops, and, pursuing his success, encountered a few days after, with a part of his Horse, and routed a strong force of rebel cavalry near a neighbouring town called Sherborne, in which he had left the remainder of his little army. These, mistaking the fugitive enemy for their own fellows, were seized with a panic, and fled also, and Digby, who had been left on the field by the pursuers, with a few of his principal officers about him, was charged by a single troop of the rebels which remained unbroken, and forced to retreat with severe loss, and much difficulty, to Skipton, leaving in their hands his baggage, and his coach, in which were his private papers, many of which the Parliament caused to be printed. At Skipton he re-assembled great part of his forces, and marched with them into Scotland, where, equally unable either to join the Marquis of Montrose, who had been obliged to retreat, or to retrace his own steps, Lesley's army having posted itself on the borders, he took the sudden resolution to leave his men, and embark for the Isle of Man, from whence he went to Ireland: "and thus," says Clarendon again, "was the generalship of the Lord Digby brought to an end; but the temper and composition of his mind was so admirable that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes ~~for~~ which he thought himself not accountable."

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He was received in Ireland, where he arrived in the beginning of 1646, by the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormond, with the distinction due to his rank, and to his office, and without delay applied himself to the invention of a scheme for the composition of the raging factions which then distracted that always unhappy country. While thus busily employed, it happened that the Prince of Wales, who had lately fled to the Isle of Scilly, requested Lord Ormond to send thither some trusty officers and men, to serve as a guard for his person. Digby, to whom the Prince's sojournment there was till now unknown, instantly altered his plan, and intreated the Lord Lieutenant to invite him to Ireland, which Ormond, though somewhat favourably struck by the idea, declined. Digby therefore put himself on board of one of the frigates appointed to convey the required troops to Scilly, and finding, on his arrival, that the Prince had removed to Jersey, followed him thither, and presenting himself, without the smallest previous intimation, laid his designs and his reasonings before him at large, and concluded by conjuring his Royal Highness to embark in one of the ships, and sail immediately to Dublin. The Prince, as might have been certainly expected, replied that such a step demanded due deliberation, on which Digby is said to have applied himself to a member of Charles's Council, with whom he had a close intimacy, and to have seriously proposed to him to join him in seizing Charles's person, and carrying him by force to Dublin. Meeting of course with a flat denial, he transported himself without delay to Paris, where the Queen had taken refuge, doubting not that he should be able to persuade her to patronise his design for the Prince's expedition to Ireland, though fully conscious of her earnest desire that his Royal Highness should join her in France. Finding her deaf to his arguments, he negotiated to the same purpose with Cardinal Mazarin, who affected to favour his suggestions, flattered him, deceived him, and furnished him with a moderate sum to be applied to the service in Ireland, most of which he expended on

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his way thither, at Jersey, in new, but ineffectual, efforts to accomplish his favourite plan. On his arrival in Dublin he found affairs in the most hopeless state, and, as difficulties always increased his ardour, redoubled his efforts to settle them with advantage to the royal cause. He was thus earnestly engaged when commissioners arrived from the rebel Parliament to demand the surrender of the island, which immediately followed, when he escaped with some difficulty, and returned to France.

Digby being now obliged to fly from Ireland, and the King's affairs having become utterly hopeless, he returned to France, with scarcely more than the means of ordinary subsistence. He met with a better reception there from the Cardinal than from those of his own country, and, on some encouragement offered by that Prelate, determined on entering the army, then engaged in what was called the war of the Frondeurs. Distinguished as he was already by military bravery to need any further recommendation, his natural impatience would not allow him to wait for a commission, and he joined the French cavalry in the field as a volunteer. On that very day he accepted from an unknown officer of the Frondeurs one of those chivalrous challenges to single combat so common in the warfare of that time, and was treacherously fired on by the troop to which his antagonist belonged, and severely wounded. It occurred not only in the sight of both armies, but of the King and his Court, and the praise and indignation of all were instantly excited in his favour. "He was the discourse," eloquently says the authority now before me, "of the whole Court, and had drawn the eyes of all men upon him. His quality, his education, the handsomeness of his person, the beauty of his countenance, his alacrity and courage in action against the enemy, the softness and civility of his manners, his profound knowledge in all kinds of learning, and in all languages, in the manifestation of which he enlarged or restrained himself as circumstances directed, rendered him universally acceptable." A gallant troop of Horse, composed chiefly of English gentlemen,

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was immediately raised for him. They were soldiers of fortune ; plunged into deep necessity by the miseries of their country. He raised their expectations to the highest pitch by promises of advantage which he could have no hope of fulfilling, and on the strength of which they squandered the very small means which they had retained. They abandoned him in anger and disgust, and he was soon left with only the name of a commander, but his favour at Court remained unimpaired, and indeed he became one of Louis's chief military counsellors. He was raised to considerable rank and power in the French army, and obtained a most lucrative monopoly of licences for the transport of persons and property to Paris on all the rivers of France. In the mean time his father, who had also fled to that country, died, and he succeeded to the Earldom of Bristol, and Charles the second, in whose exiled Court he had been on his first coming coldly received, about the same time gave him the Garter.

In a land where title and dignity were then in a manner worshipped, the addition of these honours seemed to complete his advantages, for he already possessed a splendid income. New singularities however now took possession of him. He seemed to have become a miser ; lived with scandalous meanness ; and was even rapacious in his eagerness to possess himself of money. It was supposed that he was amassing wealth, when he was actually in the deepest penury. He had secretly given way at once to amorous dissipation, and to the practice of gaming, and indulged in both with the most unbounded extravagance. The bitter inconvenience produced by these excesses worked their cure, and he soon reverted to ambition, which was in fact his ruling passion. The Cardinal, to whom the delightful variety of Bristol's talents had now really endeared him, on being forced in 1650 by the fury of faction for a time to quit France, recommended him earnestly to the Queen Regent, not only as one on whose zeal for himself in his absence he could entirely depend, but whom she might safely trust in the most important affairs.

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Bristol was no sooner apprized of this friendly testimonial than he conceived the idea of supplanting the Cardinal in her favour, and of making himself prime minister of France. He instituted all sorts of intrigues to this end, and at length spoke to the Queen on the subject with so little reserve that she determined to punish his arrogance and ingratitude by instantly disclosing them to Mazarin, and, on the return of that Prelate, he was dismissed, with a small present of money, from all his employments.

He now made a short visit to his own Prince and his countrymen at Bruges, and then wandered in a state of positive destitution, into the Spanish camp in the Netherlands, where he was well known by reputation, and therefore much disliked. Not a feature of his character was in unison with any of the habits or prejudices of that serious people; but this was not all: he had lately commanded in that country a squadron of French Horse, which had signalised itself by every enormity that could disgrace military service, and his very name was odious to the Flemings, as well as to the Spanish army. Such however was the fascination, if the expression may be allowed, of which this extraordinary man was master, that he removed, even within a very few weeks, all the prejudices which had been conceived against him; became the intimate companion of the principal officers; and even the confidential friend of their leader, the celebrated Don John of Austria. The estimation thus acquired he shortly enhanced tenfold, by obtaining, through the means of a secret correspondence with the garrison, the important surrender of the strong fortress of St. Ghislain, near Brussels, which had long baffled the military efforts of the Spaniards. He was largely rewarded for this service, and, as a further gratification, Don John, at his request, applied to the King of England to restore to him the office or rather the title, for it was then little more, of a Secretary of State, which had lapsed on the demise of the late King, and in which Charles, to whom Bristol had contrived to magnify his own influence in Spain, now readily re-instated him. He was scarcely

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in possession of it when he forfeited it by publicly embracing the Catholic faith, which he did with abundance of apparent circumstances of pious conviction, some of which however were of a nature to render the sincerity of his conversion very suspicious, and thus he lost for a time the favour of the King, without increasing his credit with the Spaniards, which was the point at which he aimed in this unexpected change. He was however permitted to attend Charles in 1658 on his journey into Spain, where he presently conciliated the regard of the chief minister, Don Lewis de Haro, whom he had hitherto considered his enemy, and was induced by his bounty to remain at Madrid, as he did, seemingly unemployed, till the restoration of Monarchy in England.

He returned, overflowing with hope and expectation; his ambition and activity unchilled, and his eccentricity uncorrected. So extravagantly sanguine was his disposition, and such his confidence that the State must of necessity sue for the benefit of his services, that the almost certain disadvantage of his late change of religion seems not to have occurred to his mind. It operated however powerfully against him. He was not appointed to any office either in the State or the Court, and therefore presently adopted the practice, which has been ever since used with increasing energy in such cases, of opposing and decrying both. Thus he laboured to obstruct Charles's treaty of marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and had the address to prejudice the King against her, and in favour of two young ladies of the Medicean family, whom he had recommended for the King's choice, inso-much that his Majesty sent him privately into Italy to ascertain and to report to him the degree of their pretensions. During his absence Charles became reconciled to the Portuguese match, which Bristol, perhaps rightly attributing chiefly to the influence of the Chancellor, with whom he had hitherto lived in long and strict friendship, conceived an implacable resentment against that great and good man. In the same spirit, and with his accus-

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tomed inconsistency, he laboured, openly and secretly, to overthrow the Bill for the restoration of the Bishops to Parliament, their exclusion from which no man had more deeply and constantly lamented than himself. In the mean time however he had the address to gain no small share of Charles's confidence, and in 1663 was engaged in an intrigue, doubtless with his private concurrence, to increase the King's party, so called to distinguish it from the minister's majority, in the House of Commons. He appears to have been basely deserted on this occasion by Charles, who, to appease the anger excited there by the discovery, solemnly disowned all knowledge of the matter by a message to the House. Bristol desired to be admitted to make an explanation at the bar, which he did, with such modest courage; such force of reasoning; and such exquisite beauty of expression; that the House, in the face of it's clear conviction of his misdemeanor, declared itself satisfied. In the course of this admirable speech he took occasion to apologize shortly for his late change in religious profession. "I am a Catholic," said he, "of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome: no negotiator there of Cardinal's caps for his Majesty's subjects and domestics: a true Roman Catholic as to the other world, but a true Englishman as to this: Such a one as, had we a King inclined to that profession (as, on the contrary, we have one the most firm and constant to the Protestant religion that ever sat upon the Throne) I would tell him as freely as the Duke of Sully, being a Protestant, told his grandfather, Henry the fourth, that, if he meant to be a King, he must be a constant professor and maintainer of the religion established in his dominions."

In resentment probably of Charles's conduct towards him in this affair, he attacked that Prince presently after, in a private audience, with an intemperance of language perhaps never before nor since used by a subject to a Sovereign. On receiving a denial of some request, he burst into the most bitter invectives; reproached the King with his idleness and debaucheries, and

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the meanness of his submission to the dictation of the Chancellor ; and concluded by threatening that if the point in question should not be conceded to him within twenty-four hours, he would do “ somewhat that should awaken the King out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business.” A very few days passed before this menace was fully explained. On the tenth of July, 1663, he preferred a charge of High treason in the House of Peers against Lord Clarendon, comprised in twenty-four articles, which the House, having for form’s sake submitted to the Judges, afterwards rejected with scorn. The King, now irreparably offended, issued a warrant for his apprehension, and he fled, and remained concealed, or rather affecting to conceal himself, for nearly two years, when Charles was prevailed on by the Duchess of Cleveland to admit him to a private audience. Here, with the exception of a final act of characteristic inconsistency, his voting in Parliament in 1673 for the Test Act, closed his public life. He died on the twentieth of March, 1676-7, at Chelsea, in Middlesex, and was there buried, having had issue, by Anne, second daughter of Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford, John, his successor, in whom the dignities became extinct ; Francis, who was killed at sea in the Dutch war in 1672 ; Diana, married to Baron Moll, a Flemish nobleman ; and Anne, to Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland.



WILLIAM HOWARD, VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

OB 1630

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BUTE

WILLIAM HOWARD,

VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

THIS illustrious victim to faction, injustice, and perjury, was the fifth, but at length second surviving son of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel of the Howards, by Alatheia, daughter and heir of Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. He was born on the thirtieth of November, in the year 1612, and bred in the utmost strictness of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Of his early age we have little other intelligence than that he was one of the many Knights of the Bath created to grace the coronation of King Charles the first, though he had then scarcely reached his fourteenth year. Bishop Burnet, in the fear that his memory might remain wholly spotless, tells us that "he had been guilty of great vices in his youth, which had almost proved fatal to him," and adds that "he was a weak, but a fair conditioned man." The assertion in the first member of this sentence is abundantly falsified by the evidence of a solemn record, and the allowance coldly and obscurely conceded in the second is an unwilling half-acknowledgement of that which, to use the best interpretation of the Bishop's singular terms, was too notorious to be safely denied. He was in fact a man of clear and strong understanding; of strict honour and probity, and of the mildest and quietest character and habits; eminently polite and sweet tempered.

When he was nearly thirty years old he married Mary, sister and heir of Henry, last Lord Stafford of that surname, heir male to the once mighty ducal House of Buckingham, and in consequence of that match the title of Baron Stafford was conferred on him by a patent dated the twelfth of September, 1641, and on the twelfth of November, in the following year, he was advanced

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to the dignity of a Viscount. His marriage however was more honourable than lucrative, for the great estates of his Lady's family had suffered cruelly by confiscations, and, having himself but a younger brother's fortune, he was obliged to live with as much frugality and privacy as the fair maintenance of his rank would permit. The same impediments rendered him in a great measure incapable of aiding his Sovereign with troops or money during the rebellion, but his heart was devoted to the royal cause, of which he otherwise gave ample testimony. "In the beginning of the late unhappy times," said he, in the course of his defence on the sad occasion which will presently be spoken of, "the late King did me the honour to make me a Peer, and, thinking that my presence might rather prejudice than serve him, my wife and I settled at Antwerp when the war began, where I might have lived, though obscurely, safely; but I was not satisfied in my conscience to see my King in so much disorder and I not endeavour to serve him what I could to free him from his troubles, and I did come into England, and served his Majesty faithfully and loyally as long as he lived; and some of your Lordships here know whether I did not wait upon the new King in his exile, from which he was happily restored." Whatever were his exertions, they remained unrequited after the restoration. He became disgusted, and, espousing for a time that party of which the acute and perfidious Shaftesbury was the oracle, frequently opposed in the House of Peers, but with becoming moderation, the measures of the Court: being qualified however neither by nature or habits for political warfare or intrigue, he soon abandoned them, and returned to the inoffensive comforts of a private life.

In the autumn of the year 1678 Titus Oates, at the head of that small but dreadful band of transcendant villains who had been hitherto suborned to make a desperate and almost general attack upon the most eminent Catholics in England, not excepting the Queen herself, accused this nobleman of high treason. As

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soon as the intelligence reached Stafford, which was on the twenty-fifth of October, he went to the House of Lords, and told them that he had heard of a warrant having been issued to apprehend him; the Lord Chief Justice informed the House that he had signed it the day before; Stafford then surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower, together with the Earl of Powis, and the Lords Petre, Arundel of Wardour, and Bellasyse, all Catholic Peers, who were also charged with treason by the same parties. They remained in close imprisonment for two years, frequently petitioning to be put on their defence, or admitted to bail, when it was at length determined to select from them an individual for tryal, and Stafford was chosen, "on account," as Roger North tells us in his Examen, "of his age, and the gentleness of his nature, in the hope that he might be readier than the others to make a confession."—"He was deemed," says Reresby, "to be weaker than the other Lords in the Tower, and was therefore purposely marked out to be the first brought on, but he deceived them so far as to plead his cause to a miracle."

He was impeached by the Commons, and brought to tryal in Westminster Hall on the thirtieth of November, 1680, which happened to be the anniversary of his birth-day. The Earl of Nottingham, Keeper of the Great Seal, officiated as Lord High Steward with becoming humanity and impartiality. The managers for the Commons, mostly lawyers, and particularly the ancient republican Maynard, who led them, exceeded in virulence and asperity even the large latitude commonly allowed to persons in their situation. The witnesses had contrived, with the usual caution of experienced perjurers, to make their charges as few and simple as possible, and to avoid all statement of collateral facts. Two of them, Dugdale and Turberville, swore that Stafford had offered them large sums to assassinate the King; the others, Oates and Bedlow, that he had received from the Pope a patent appointing him paymaster-general of the army

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which they said was to be immediately after employed to awe the Protestants, and subvert the government. In spite however of their caution, when they were pressed on points of time and locality they became utterly confounded, and perhaps no instance can be found in the records of juridical enquiry of a more complete exposure of false testimony in the hour in which it was given, not to mention the infamy fixed on their general characters by many credible witnesses. Stafford cross examined them with much acuteness and presence of mind, and affected even his enemies by the sound reasoning, and the simple and candid method of his defence, as well as by the modest dignity and composure of his whole demeanour.

The tryal occupied five days, during the whole of which the King was present. Charles secretly wished him well, and had even solicited votes for his acquittal, though the Duchess of Portsmouth, probably bribed, had taken the contrary course. The ministers however thought it necessary to devote one victim of high rank to the then reigning humour, not less of the Parliament than of the people, and, to the indelible disgrace of the majority of the eighty-six Peers that day present, fifty-five found him guilty. When the Lord High Steward declared the numbers, and asked him the usual question, "Why sentence of death should not pass on him," he answered, with a noble simplicity, "My Lord, I have little to say. I confess that I am surprised at it, for I did not expect it; but God's will be done: I will not murmur at it. God forgive them that have sworn falsely against me." Some days after the tryal, his relations, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Howard of Escrick, both of whom, by the way, in the horrible excess of party rage, had voted against him, were sent to him in the Tower by the whig faction, in the hope of extracting from him some matters wherewith to criminate their chief opponents. "They only wanted," says James himself, in his notices of his own life, published by Macpherson, "to get somewhat out of him against the Duke of York." The result was

VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

that he allowed them to inform the House of Lords of his willingness to discover all that he knew, and he was immediately called to their bar; but he had nothing to disclose beyond the agitation of certain plans which the Catholics had laid to procure a reasonable toleration, and the names of some eminent persons who had aided their views to that effect; "and then," to use the words of Burnet, "he named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and when he named him he was ordered to withdraw, and the Lords would hear no more from him." Such in those fearful days was the partiality openly manifested even by that venerable branch of the legislature.

The only favour shewn to Lord Stafford was the allowance of the axe, instead of a method of execution more ignominious. Will it be believed that one who was destined soon to follow him; a man who was and is little less celebrated for the kindness of his nature, and indeed for all private virtues, than for his detestation of tyranny and oppression; should have strongly opposed this wretched final mitigation? Yes, it will be believed, for we have it from the pen of Mr. Fox, who, with a candour and love of historical truth highly creditable to his memory, tells us, in his "Memoirs of James the second," without saying from what source he derived the anecdote, that Lord Russell "stickled for the severer mode of executing the sentence." For the rest, his enemy, Burnet, informs us that "he supped and slept well the night before his execution, and died without any shew of fear or disorder." "He perished," says Sir John Reresby, "in the firmest denial of what had been laid to his charge; and that in so cogent, convincing, and persuasive a manner, that all the beholders believed his words, and grieved his destiny." Lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twenty-ninth of December, 1680.

The commencement and the conclusion of the succeeding reign were marked by acts of justice to the memory and family of this ill-fated Nobleman. On the third of June, 1688, the Peers passed a bill reversing his attainder, the preamble to which

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declared that he had been convicted on false testimony; and on the fifth of October, 1688, Henry, his eldest son, was created Earl of Stafford, with remainder, in default of male issue, to his brothers in succession, and their heirs male respectively; and the widow of the deceased Viscount was by the same patent advanced to the title of Countess of Stafford for her life, with rank to her daughters accordingly. They left a numerous issue, three sons and six daughters, of whom, especially as the male line has been for several years extinguished, I will speak somewhat more largely than usual. Henry, the eldest son, who has been just now mentioned, left England with King James the second; was married at St. Germain, on the third of April, 1694, to Claude Charlotte, eldest daughter to Philibert, Count de Grammont, and died childless on the nineteenth of April, 1719. John Stafford, second son, died before his elder brother, having married, first, Mary, daughter of Sir John Southcote, of Merstham, in Surrey, by whom he had William, second Earl of Stafford; John Paul, who, as we shall see, at length succeeded to that title; Mary, wife of Francis Plowden, of Plowden in Shropshire; Xaveria and Louisa, who were nuns. By his second Countess, Theresa, daughter of Robert Strickland, he had a son, Edward, who died without issue; and a daughter, Harriet, who married a M. Crebillon. Francis, the third son, who also attended the deposed King in his exile, and served him in the office of a groom of the bedchamber, married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Stanford, of New Inn, in Staffordshire, and left an only son, Henry, who, took to wife one of the daughters of Bartholomew Berkeley, of Spetchley, in the county of Worcester, and died without issue.

Of the Viscount Stafford's daughters, Alathea, the eldest, took the veil; the second, Isabella, became the wife of John Poulett, fourth Marquis of Winchester; Ursula and Mary, the third and fourth, were also nuns; Anastasia, the fifth, was married to George Holman, of Warkworth, in the County of Northampton; and Helena, the youngest, died in infancy.

William, son and heir of John Stafford Howard, succeeded, as

VISCOUNT STAFFORD

has been stated, to the titles on the death of his uncle, Earl Henry, in 1719. He married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Mr. Holman, by his wife the Lady Anastasia. He died in France, in January, 1734, and was buried in the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, leaving an only son, William Matthias, and three daughters; Mary Apollonia Scholastica, wife of: Guy Augustus, Count de Rohan Chabot; Anastasia and Anne, nuns of the third order of St. Francis, in Paris. William Matthias succeeded to his father, William; married in June, 1743, Henrietta, daughter of Peter Cantillon; died childless on the twenty-eighth of February, 1750, and was buried at Arundel, in Sussex; whereupon his uncle, John Paul, second son of John, who was next brother to Henry, the first Earl, became sole heir male, and fourth Earl of Stafford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham Ewens, of the county of Somerset, and dying without issue on the first of April, 1762, was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Thus this junior male line of the House of Howard became extinct.



HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF ABERDEEN

HENEAGE FINCH,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

HENEAGE FINCH, a most eminent lawyer, a celebrated orator, and an earnest, though honest, supporter of what were called the measures of the court in the reign of Charles the second, was born on the twenty-third of December, 1621. He sprung from a family already ennobled and powerful, his grandmother, Elizabeth, only child and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, a Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, who had amassed great wealth by the long possession of many lucrative offices, having been raised to the peerage by James the first, and in the following reign advanced to the title of Countess of Winchelsea. Sir Heneage Finch, also a celebrated lawyer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the First Parliament of Charles the first, the fourth son of that lady, by her husband, Sir Moyle Finch, married Frances, daughter of Sir Edmund Bell, of Beaupré Hall, in Norfolk, and the subject of this memoir was their first born son.

His education was suited to his rank, first in Westminster school, and afterwards at Christ Church in Oxford. He became a gentleman commoner of that college in 1635, and removed from thence to study the laws in the Inner Temple, where he was so much distinguished by his acuteness and assiduity that he carried with him to the bar no small degree of reputation. He contented himself there during the usurpation with an extensive private practice: indeed no man was less likely to be employed, or even tolerated, by the rebel government, for the whole of his family had been eminently loyal: his kinsman, Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper in the beginning of the troubles, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the popular party, and had fled to the

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continent to avoid the vengeance of its leaders; and his first cousin, Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, was well known to be in the confidence of the exiled King. These circumstances, as might naturally be expected, joined to the high professional character that he had acquired, recommended him powerfully to the favour of Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, named him for the post of Solicitor General, to which he was appointed on the sixth of June, 1660; and on the following day was created a Baronet. In the succeeding April he was elected to serve in Parliament for the University of Oxford. These promotions did not withdraw him from his services to the learned society in which he had received his legal education. He had already filled in succession most of the offices in the municipal establishment of the Inner Temple, and, in the autumn of 1661, distinguished himself in that of reader, by a lecture of uncommon excellence on the statute of the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, for the recovery of the debts of the Crown, a subject which had never before been so discussed. Anthony Wood mentions the ceremonies by which this reading was attended, inferring, doubtless, that the splendor of the feasts, and of the guests, was to be considered as a mark of respect to the reader. "The first day's entertainment," says Wood, "was of divers Peers of the realm, and Privy Counsellors, with many other of his noble friends: the second, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens of London; the third, of the whole College of Physicians, who all came in their caps and gowns: the fourth was of another long robe; for all the Judges and Advocates, Doctors of the civil law, and all the society of Doctor's Commons: the fifth was of the Archbishops, Bishops, and chief of the clergy; and the last which was on the fifteenth of August, was of the King, Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, most of the Peers, and great officers of Court, the Lords Commissioners of Scotland and Ireland," &c. A larger detail of these matters may be found in Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*.

The life of a lawyer who travels little out of the duties of his

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profession seldom possesses much historical interest. For many years we hear nothing of Finch but that he gave some umbrage to the learned body which he represented in the House of Commons, by disappointing the hopes, probably founded, on somewhat like a promise, of his aid in procuring the abolition of the unpopular impost called hearth-money; and that he supported with great zeal in the Parliament which sat at Oxford in 1665 the bill which afterwards obtained the name of the five mile act, by which all silenced ministers were required to take an oath, "declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned from him; that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of Church or State;" and forbidding such as should refuse that oath to come within five miles of any city, or parliament borough, &c. At length on the tenth of May, 1670, he was appointed Attorney General, and on the ninth of November, 1673, was placed in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, upon the dismissal of the acute and profligate Shaftesbury. On the tenth of the succeeding January the title of Baron Finch, of Daventry, in the County of Northampton, was conferred on him; and on the nineteenth of December, 1675, he resigned the Seal to the King for the purpose of again immediately receiving it, with the title of Lord High Chancellor. In the course of the same year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset.

In 1677 he sat as Lord High Steward of England on the trial of Philip Earl of Pembroke, as he did in 1680 on that of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, on which latter occasion the speech in which he pronounced judgement on that unfortunate nobleman was esteemed a model of eloquence. We have in the history of that year a remarkable instance of his prudence, and presence of mind, in the management of an affair of peculiar delicacy. Charles had granted a pardon to the impeached Earl of Danby, and the Commons, in a flame, deputed a Committee to demand of the Chancellor an account of the circumstances under which it had

HENEAGE FINCH,

passed. He answered, with much simplicity, that the King had commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, and that having arrived there, he laid it on a table, whereupon his Majesty, having written his name at the top of the parchment, ordered that the Seal should be taken out of the purse, and applied to the instrument, which was accordingly done, by the officer who usually carried the purse; "and this," said the Chancellor, "I was obliged to submit to because it was not in my power to hinder it." Thus he shifted to the King his responsibility, and connived at a measure directly opposite to the inclination of the Commons, without materially offending either. Charles indeed gave him at this precise time a clear proof of favour and confidence by committing chiefly to him the nomination of a Privy Council, formed on new principles; a measure which he so highly approved that he declared "it looked like a thing fallen from heaven into his Majesty's breast." His health was then declining, and we do not after that period find his name peculiarly connected with any public affair which has claimed the notice of history. On the twelfth of May, 1681, his services were finally rewarded by a grant of the dignity of Earl of Nottingham; and on the eighteenth of December, in the following year, he died at his house in Queen Street, Covent Garden, and was buried at Raunston, near Olney, in Buckinghamshire.

This nobleman's public life might have exhibited more events had his character involved fewer perfections. Honest, prudent, loyal, calm, and decorous, he stood in security amidst the political agitations which unhappily distinguished his time; firm, without obstinacy; yielding, without meanness; and decently ambitious, without provoking jealousy. His memory has had the rare good fortune to be cherished by writers of all parties. Wood, whose pen was seldom employed in adulation, tells us that, "in the most boisterous and ticklish times, when the swain waves beat highest, occasioned by the Popish plot, he behaved himself with so regular, exactly poised, and with such even steadiness, whilst

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others, whose actions not being so exactly balanced, either were discharged from their offices, or else they themselves by an ungenerous cowardice voluntarily resigned them up, as unwilling manfully to encounter approaching difficulties of which they pretended to have prospects, that he still stood firm in the good opinion of his Prince; and, which is more to be admired, at that time, when many worthy ministers of state were by the malice of designing men branded with the old infamous character of evil counsellors, in order to have them to be run down and worried by the violent outrages of the unthinking, giddy, and headstrong multitude, he was neither bandied against, or censured in the more private and seditious cabals, nor was his master publicly addressed to for his removal." Burnet, the only author who has breathed an adverse censure on him, says, "he was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence, but it was laboured and affected, and he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs, and yet he loved to talk of them perpetually, by which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senator. He was an incorrupt judge, and in his Court he could resist the strongest applications, even from the King himself, though he did it nowhere else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation." Yet Burnet, with an inconsistency not unfrequent with him, says in another place, "His great parts, and greater virtues, are so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation." Tate, in his second part of the poem of Absalom and Achitophel, devoted to him this grand and beautiful eulogium—

" Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whose merits claim'd the Abethdin's high place;
Who, with a loyalty that did excel,
Brought all th'endowments of Achitophel.

HEMEAGE FINCH, .

Sincere was Amos, and not only here,
But Israel's sanctions into practice drew:
Our laws, that did a boundless ocean seem,
Were coasted all, and fathom'd all, by him.
No Rabbi speaks like him their mystic sense;
So just, and with such terms of eloquence;
To whom the double blessing does belong—
With Moses' inspiration Aaron's tongue."

Lord Orford, in his devotion to whiggism, observes, and with what degree of justice let the reader determine, that Wood, in the passages quoted above, "represents him as a great temporizer." But his Lordship could not help adding that, "though he certainly offended neither the Court or the patriots, if he had shown great partiality to the latter, there is no doubt but the King would have dismissed him, being by no means so dangerous a man as his predecessor, Shaftesbury. That his complaisance for the prerogative was not unbounded was manifest by the King being obliged to set the Seal himself to the Earl of Danby's pardon. The truth is," adds the noble biographer, "that the Earl of Nottingham was neither violent nor timid: when he pronounced sentence on the Lord Viscount Stafford, he did not scruple to say 'Who can doubt now that London was burned by the Papists?' Burnet calls this declaration indecent: if it was so to the unhappy convict, it was certainly no flattery to the predominant faction at Court," &c.

Many of his professional remains may be found scattered in various books. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides, when he was Solicitor General, are in more than one edition of those proceedings; his speech on passing judgement on Lord Stafford is in the State Trials: several uttered by him in Parliament, between the years 1672 and 1680, and several answers to addresses presented to the King, at Hampton Court, in 1681, are also in print. The arguments on which he founded his decree in a great cause between the Hon. Charles Howard and Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and others, forming a folio volume of some size, were published three years after his death; and he left a large

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

collection of Chancery Reports, in manuscript, which it may be presumed yet remain with his noble descendants.

The Earl of Nottingham married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Harvey, a merchant of London, by whom he had fourteen children, of whom Daniel, the eldest, was the ancestor of the Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham; and Heneage, the second, of the Earls of Aylesford. The younger sons were William, bred to the law; Charles, Edward, and Henry, clergymen; Robert, Edward, John, and Thomas, who died unmarried; the three latter in their father's life-time. His daughters were Elizabeth, married to Samuel, son and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls; Mary, and Anne, who died, probably infants, before their father; and another Mary, who died unmarried, having survived till 1735.



FRANCIS NORTH, LORD GUILDFORD

OB. 1685

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF GUILDFORD

FRANCIS NORTH,

FIRST LORD GUILDFORD.

FRANCIS NORTH, the lineal ancestor of the Earls of Guildford, was the third son of Dudley, fourth Lord North, by his wife, Anne, daughter and coheir to Sir Charles Montague, a younger brother to Henry, Earl of Manchester. It appears from circumstances which it is needless to recite that he was born in or about the year 1638. He was placed at a very early age in a school, then of considerable fame, at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, and removed from thence to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a fellow commoner on the eighth of June, 1653. He had been from his infancy designed for the profession of the law, and, on quitting the University, was entered of the Middle Temple, where a most happy disposition, in which good nature, resolution, and prudence, seem to have been justly blended, enabled him to distinguish himself no less by the elegance and innocency of his relaxations than by the industry and success of his studies. He became there, says Roger North, in his lively and entertaining notices of his own family, "not only a good lawyer, but a good historian, politician, mathematician, natural philosopher, and, I must add, musician, in perfection." He appeared at the bar, and presently acquired extensive practice, under the especial patronage of Sir Jeffery Palmer, then Attorney General, by whom he was soon after named to argue for the Crown on a writ of error brought by the House of Commons in the case of Mr. Holles, one of the well known five members, who had been convicted in the preceding reign of a riot in that House. In this remarkable cause he acquitted himself with such ability, and gave such proofs of a firm devotion to monarchical govern-

FRANCIS NORTH,

ment, in which indeed he had been bred from his cradle, that he was immediately appointed one of the King's Counsel. He soon after obtained the office of Chief Justice of Chester, and on the twenty-third of May, 1671, on which day he was knighted, that of Solicitor General; was elected to serve in Parliament for the borough of King's Lynn, in Norfolk; in 1673 succeeded Sir Heneage Finch in the post of Attorney General, and in the beginning of Hilary Term in the succeeding year was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The King, who had long looked around him in vain for a counsellor at once wise and honest, found at length such a one in Sir Francis North. There is reason to believe that Charles had sought his advice long before he called him publicly to his councils; had weighed his talents, and considered his political principles; and it is agreeable to find a Prince so frequently, and indeed so justly, taxed with carelessness and levity in his notions of government, voluntarily adopting, for North had no party friends, a man who had ever avowed that the sole foundation of good government was the law of the land. Professing that maxim, he was called in 1679 to the Privy Council, then newly constituted by Charles on a plan equally wise and popular, and, on the twentieth of December, 1682, on the death of the Chancellor Earl of Nottingham, received the great seal, with the style of Lord Keeper. In the following year, on the twenty-seventh of September, he was advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Guildford.

A man of his disposition and opinions could scarcely have become a minister in a time more unpropitious to himself. The few years which remained of the reign of Charles were distinguished by the Bill of Exclusion, and the Popish and Protestant plots; by the utmost bitterness of turbulent factions, and the most unprincipled devices of party intrigue: to these he had no weapons to oppose but simple wisdom and integrity. The statesmen with whom he was doomed to act were, to a man,

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selfish and faithless, and the King, indolent and unsteady, soon grew weary of listening to counsels which they seldom failed to contradict. Surrounded by these difficulties, the Lord Keeper pursued the course of his duty with firmness, as well as with the caution which they had rendered necessary. He seems to have retained his high station with the sole view of serving his country, and declared, shortly before his death, that "he had not enjoyed one easy and contented minute since he had the Seal:" yet his keeping it has been ascribed to mercenary views. "North," says the slanderous Burnet, "was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the Great Seal, and yet he saw he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleasure of the Court." In the memoirs however of that profligate Court, numerous as they are, not a breath of censure on his conduct, save from that Bishop, is to be found. His political creed has been set forth by his brother, Roger North, with much perspicuity, and I will insert the passage which comprises it, not more for its immediate relation to the objects of this sketch, than for the importance of its doctrines to all systems which affect to be monarchical, in all times, and perhaps more particularly in the time in which we live.

"His Lordship," says Roger North, "scorned the vulgar and fanatic calumnies that he was a prerogative man, and laboured to set up arbitrary power; but, notwithstanding all that, he laboured as much as he could to set up the just prerogatives of the Crown, which were well known to the law, and to the lawyers, although it had been the fashion, as well in Westminster Hall as at St. Stephen's to batter the prerogative. He has said that "a man could not be a good lawyer and honest, but he must be a prerogative man," so plain were the law books in these cases. He was sincerely of opinion that the Crown wanted power by law, so far was it from exceeding. It was absolutely necessary that the government should have a due power to keep the peace, without trespassing upon the rights of any one; and, if it had not such

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power rightfully, either it would assume and exercise powers that were wrongful, and then what bounds? or else sedition would prevail, and, pulling down one, set up another government entirely wrongful, to which all law and truth being opposite, consequently such a government would be opposite to them, and meditate no security but actual force; and what can the people, that are always designing to diminish the just powers of the Crown, expect but that the Crown should always design to repair itself by a provision of force? Nothing is so sure as that government will be supported by means either rightful or wrongful: if subjects will not have the one, they shall have the other.

“ These considerations made his Lordship ever set himself against the republicans, and resist their intended encroachments upon the Crown. He thought the taking away of the tenures a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England, and must, by easy consequence, procure the establishment of an army; for when the legal dependance of the monarchy and the country upon each other is dissolved what must succeed but force? He used often to inveigh against those who perpetually projected to weaken the monarchy, as a set of men either corrupt and false-hearted, or else short-sighted and ignorant. The yet living history of the late times concurred; for what did the people get by robbing the Crown of the power to dissolve the Parliament, and of the militia? There cannot be a more false illusion than it is to suppose that what power the Crown lost was so much liberty gained to the people; and yet in these times a broad-spread party went about with such syren songs to engage the community to join in their project of divesting the King of his commissions of the peace, and lieutenancy, &c. all which his Lordship saw plainly, and detested. I have heard him say that if the people knew what miseries would be the consequence of these men having their wills they would stone them, as they would mad dogs, in the street. It may be esteemed one of his Lordship's chief felicities that his real principles of honour and probity exactly squared

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with his engagements and services at Court. He never had the remorse to have in the least dis-served his country by serving the Crown; and the discerning Court, and more discerning King, saw plainly that he acted from the bottom of his heart, and did nothing servile, or for flattery, that any way contradicted the series of his conduct and advice, which is more than can be truly said of any of the preferment-hunters of that, or almost any time."

His carriage towards the ministers of his time was so wide of confidence that he could scarcely have been said to maintain an ordinary intimacy with any of them, except Secretary Jenkins, who, like himself, was honest, and indefatigable in the public service: yet, such is the charm of probity, that they not only treated him with profound deference and respect, but forbore to assail him with those petty arts and intrigues by which they constantly endeavoured to supplant each other. Jefferies alone, of whose dislike it was honourable to be the object, was his open and professed enemy, but the attacks of that savage were aimed chiefly at his judicial character. The acute and unprincipled Sunderland was his chief political foe, but his timid malice evaporated in ridiculous fables invented to prejudice the moral fame of his adversary, who well knew him, and therefore despised and loathed him. Burnet, whose report here is not wholly unsupported by collateral testimony, informs us that the Earl of Nottingham, son to Lord Guildford's predecessor, "hated him because he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, and had got together so many instances of his ill administration of justice that he exposed him severely for it:" and would persuade us that the Lord Keeper sunk under the disgrace of these disclosures. "It was believed," says Burnet, "that this gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of mind he was labouring under. He languished some time, and died despised and ill thought of by the whole nation." The concluding assertion is utterly false, but such are the follies and absurdities, and such the abandonments of truth and charity, into which men, even of great talents,

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and of high moral and pious pretensions, may be led by an unreasonable heat of party spirit.

Charles, to the last hour of his life, held this excellent person in unabated favour, and James, for decency's sake, continued him in his high office, but knew not how to value his worth. In the very commencement of that Prince's reign he experienced a cruel affront. He had composed, with singular wisdom and eloquence, a speech on the general state of public affairs, to be delivered, according to the custom, by himself, at the opening of the Parliament, but, when he presented it in the Cabinet Council, for the King's approbation, he was informed that it was altogether unnecessary; that his Majesty had determined to address the Parliament solely from his own mouth, and that his speech was already prepared. Numerous mortifications followed, and James, fraught with new and frantic plans of government in which he was conscious that Guildford would never join, shewed no inclination to protect him. His health suddenly declined. "The death," says Roger North, "of King Charles the second; the managing in order to the coronation, and the Parliament, and sitting there to hear his decrees most brutishly and effrontuously arraigned, which he must defend with all the criticism and reason, as well as temper, that he could by stress of thought muster; besides the attendances at Court and Council, where nothing squared with his schemes, and where he was by Sunderland, Jefferies, and their complices little less than derided; to all which the dispatch of the chancery business is to be added, where, for want of time, all ran in arrear, which state of the court was always a load upon his spirits: all this was more than enough to oppress the soul of an honest cordial man, and I verily believe it did that to his Lordship which people mean when they say that 'his heart was broke.'" He retired into the country, under the pressure of a continual fever, and was permitted to carry with him the Great Seal. His last advice to James was that he should stop the sanguinary proceedings of Jefferies against the miserable followers

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of Monmouth, and that advice was rejected. Within a few weeks after, the triumph of that detestable judge over him was consummated. He died at his seat of Wroxton, in Oxfordshire, on the fifth of September, 1685, and Jefferies was his successor.

The domestic character of Lord Guildford appears to have been highly amiable, and the variety of his knowledge, and accomplishments, truly astonishing in a man of his laborious profession. He committed a few small works to the press, and some remain in manuscript. Among the former are "An Argument in a case between Soams and Barnardiston," and "An Argument in a trial between the Duke of Norfolk and Charles Howard," printed together—"The King's (Charles the 2d.) Declaration on the Popish Plot"—A Paper on "the Non Gravitation of Fluids," considered with reference to the natural history of fish, published in Lowthorp's Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions—"A philosophical Essay on Music"—"A Narrative of some Passages in, or relating to, the Long Parliament"—"A Narrative to the House of Commons of what Bedloe had sworn before him at Bristol"—"An Answer to a treatise by Sir Samuel Morland on the Barometer"—and a small tract intituled "The Anatomy of an Equivalent," relating to a proposal for taking away the Test, and penal laws. The two latter have not been printed.

Lord Guildford married Frances, second daughter and coheir of Thomas Pope, Earl of Downe, in Ireland, and had issue by her three sons; Francis, his successor; Charles, who died unmarried; and Pope, an infant; and two daughters, Anne, and Frances, both of whom also died unmarried.



FRANCES THERESA STEWART, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND

1759-1812

FOR THE ORIGINAL LIFE PORTRAIT OF THE DUCHESS

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

FRANCES THERESA STEWART, .

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

It is not merely to commemorate the most surpassing loveliness, nor to record its dominion over those who gloried in submitting to its sway, that this fair subject is admitted into a work which professes and designs to celebrate the most illustrious persons of our country. The triumphs of personal charms, and the extravagances and stratagems of love, have perhaps no distinct claim on the pen of the biographer; but when we can add to them an unerring constancy in the path of honour, an heroic resistance to the temptations of ambition and flattery, and to all the boldness and all the arts of the most licentious court in Europe, the theme becomes perfect, since, in the weakness of human estimation, virtue itself seems to derive an increased lustre from a combination with beauty.

Frances Theresa was the eldest of the two daughters of Walter Stewart, third son of Walter first Lord Blantyre, a Peer of Scotland, whom Granger, following an error in Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, calls "Captain Stewart:" he was in fact a physician, and probably exercised his profession in London. Of the mode of her introduction at court we have no account; but she became there at once a maid of honour to Catherine of Braganza, and the darling intimate of the favourite mistress, the Countess of Castlemain, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, stations which the liberality of that time rendered very compatible with each other. Grammont, the tolerably faithful historian of the royal and noble depravities of that day, informs us that the Countess, either to try the King's constancy to herself, or to gain leisure for her own amours by diverting his affections to another

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object, or, which is scarcely credible, from both motives, not only introduced her to him, but endeavoured, even by strange artifices, to inspire him with a passion for her. Grammont says—"La beauté de Mademoiselle Stewart commençoit alors à faire du bruit. La Comtesse de Castelmmain s'aperçut que le Roi la regardoit ; mais, au lieu de s'en alarmer, elle favorisa tant qu'elle put ce nouveau goût, soit par une imprudence ordinaire à celles qui se croient au-dessus des autres, soit qu'elle voulût par cet amusement détourner l'attention du Roi du commerce qu'elle (Castlemmain) avoit avec Jermyn. Elle ne se contentoit pas de paroître sans inquiétude sur une distinction dont toute la cour commençoit à s'apercevoir ; elle affecta d'en faire sa favorite ; la mit dans tous les soupers qu'elle donnoit au Roy ; et dans la confiance de ses propres charmes, poussant la témérité jusqu'au bout, elle la retenoit souvent à coucher. Le Roi, qui ne manquoit guère à venir chez la Castelmmain avant qu'elle se levât, ne manquoit guère aussi d'y trouver Mademoiselle Stewart au lit avec elle. Les objets les plus indifférents ont des attrait dans un nouvel entêtement ; cependant, l'imprudente Castelmmain ne fut point jalouse que cette rivale parût auprès d'elle en cet état, sûre, quand bon lui sembleroit, de triompher de tout ce que ces occasions auroient eu de plus avantageux pour la Stewart ; mais il en alla tout autrement."

The Countess's project, such as Grammont has represented it, for a time succeeded to the utmost. The King became violently enamoured of this new beauty, while Lady Castlemmain's influence over his mind remained unimpaired ; but she had flattered herself that Stewart, like the rest, would have fallen an easy conquest, and that Charles, in the hour of satiety, would have returned to seek a shadow of novelty in her embraces. She had probably anticipated his penitence and submission, and prepared to receive him with a suitable show of anger and coyness. She waited long for the event ; became alarmed ; and was at length wholly disappointed. The young lady repelled with firmness his

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attacks on her honour, and Charles's heart, refined for a transient interval by this generous resistance, now felt, perhaps for the first time, the raptures and the pangs of genuine love.

The Countess had presently the mortification to see the busiest courtiers striving for the King's favour through this new medium. The profligate and artful Buckingham, "a man so various," as Dryden has it, "that he seemed to be, not one, but all mankind's epitome," counterfeited, to flatter and please her, the careless and joyous innocence of youth which she really possessed; and amused her alternately by the buffoonery and mimicry in which he was so eminently skilled, and by joining her in the childish romps in which she delighted. Caught however by her irresistible charms, he forgot his schemes, talked of love, and was chased from her presence with disdain. The grave Lord Arlington made her a formal visit to intreat her interest for him with the King, but he had some singularities of personal appearance and manners which she recollected to have seen Buckingham imitate so ludicrously that she could not answer him for laughter, and the statesman retired in anger. The Count de Grammont owns candidly that he endeavoured to recommend himself to Charles by extravagant praises of her. He too had been probably on some occasion repulsed by her, for we find in the short picture which he has given of her some ill-natured touches which there is every reason to believe were unjust—"C'étoit une figure," says he, "de plus éclat qu'elle n'étoit touchante. On ne pouvoit avoir guère moins d'esprit, ni plus de beauté. Tous ses traits étoient beaux et réguliers, mais sa taille ne l'étoit pas : cependant elle étoit menue, assez droite, et plus grande què le commun des femmes. Elle avoit de la grace ; dansoit bien ; parloit François mieux que sa langue naturelle. Elle étoit polie ; possédoit cet air de parure après lequel on court, et qu'on n'attrappe guère à moins que de l'avoir pris en France dès sa jeunesse."

Grammont was a wit by trade, a cold-hearted debauchee, and a Frenchman. In his estimation want of artifice was want of

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understanding, and that simplicity of heart which to unsophisticated feelings renders beauty even angelic seemed to him positive ideotism. Had any thing been wanting to confirm him in these false conclusions he would have found it in the absurdity of rejecting the addresses of an amorous monarch, the very fact which proves that she possessed a vigorous mind, as well as a fine moral feeling.

Charles's passion for her increased daily, and betrayed him into several singular but inoffensive extravagancies. Among these, a gold medal appeared, doubtless by his order, representing on the front his own bust, and on the reverse a portrait of the idolized fair one in the character of Minerva, said to have been so exquisite a likeness that it was instantly known, as Evelyn, who lived in her time, informs us in his *Numismata*, by all who had ever seen her. We are told that Philip Rotier, who, with his father and brothers, was joint engraver to the royal mint, and who executed the dye, fell distractedly in love with her in the interviews to which he was necessarily admitted to study her features, and soothed his hopeless passion by copying again and again, in various sizes and metals, this happy effort of his art. The King was not less desirous than the engraver to disseminate to the utmost the beloved portrait, and it was presently transferred to the copper coin of the realm, on which it appears to this day, unaltered in its general appearance, as the emblematic figure, and bearing the inscription, of Britannia. These circumstances drew from Waller the following miserable and obscure lines, which by a strange perversion of terms appear in the various publications of his works with the title of "an epigram." It is somewhat remarkable that its point, if it may be said to have one, should consist in the celebration of that chastity which his royal patron was striving to undermine.

" Our guard upon the royal side,
On the reverse our beauty's pride,
Here we discern the frown and smile
The force, the glory, of our isle ;

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In the rich medal both so like
Immortals stand it seems antique,
Carved by some master when the bold
Greeks made their Jove descend in gold,
And Danae, wondering at that shower,
Which, falling, storm'd her brazen tower.
Britannia there, the fort in vain
Had batter'd been with golden rain :
Thunder itself had fail'd to pass—
Virtue s a stronger guard than brass."

It may not be extravagant to conjecture that the exquisite original which furnished the engraving annexed to this memoir gave the hint for the figure which appears on the reverses of the medal, &c. It may be fairly enough supposed that the whim having occurred of representing her in this Amazonian costume, and the painter having accomplished his task with such uncommon felicity, the King resolved to perpetuate the portrait by transmitting it unaltered to a metallic durability.

At length a rumour arose, and presently gained universal credit, that Charles had determined to divorce his childless Queen, and to marry this Lady, who, fatigued by his incessant importunities, and anxious to preserve her reputation unsullied, had in the mean time encouraged the honourable addresses of Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, a nobleman of middle age, who had been already twice married. The King, who had been unwilling to believe that such a connection subsisted, was conducted by Lady Castlemain, to whom she had now become an object of jealousy, and even hatred, to the fair Stewart's chamber, where he found the Duke, sitting by her bedside after she had retired to rest, a liberty which a lady might then grant without scandal to a professed suitor. Charles loaded the Duke with the most furious reproaches, from which he retired in silence, and then, after a long altercation, in which she justified her conduct, and insisted with the utmost firmness on her independence, left her, vowing that he would never see her again.

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Richmond was the next morning ordered to leave the Court, and the lady waited on the Queen to solicit her dismissal, and permission to embrace a monastic life on the Continent. Grammont asserts that Catherine, unwilling that the King should be detached from a platonic amour, persuaded her not only to relinquish her design of becoming a nun, but also to promise that she would break her engagements to the Duke of Richmond, and even effected that reconciliation with the King which of all things he most anxiously desired.

From that hour Charles became more than ever enamoured of her. There had been no stipulation in the treaty for forbearance on his part, and if there had he would have broken it. He renewed his offensive suit with increased ardour, and she, as her only protection, listened again with a more serious attention to the proposals of Richmond, who loved her to distraction. The King, finding that he could not break their connection by violence, had now recourse to craft. He affected to consent to their marriage, and, knowing that the Duke's estates were enthralled by heavy obligations, took on himself the office of her guardian, and insisted that she should have a splendid settlement, and that it should be secured with the utmost strictness. To evince his firm determination on this head, as well as to render more certain the success of his plan, he committed the matter to the management and direction of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom he ordered to make the most exact scrutiny into the state of Richmond's affairs: in the mean time he offered to create the lady a Duchess, and to settle on her in fee an ample estate for the support of that dignity, but she refused both. Resolving at length to hazard the worst effects of Charles's anger rather than submit longer to the unceasing vexation of his wayward love, she left Whitehall privately, and, without the usual ceremony of asking permission either of the King or Queen, was married to the Duke, and made it publicly known in April, 1667, not long after the solemnization.

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Charles's wrath on this disclosure approached to madness, and the weight of it fell on the Chancellor, whose influence had been already for some time declining. His enemies, particularly Lord Berkeley, persuaded the King that he had determined to prevent his Majesty from marrying Stewart, in the hope of securing the inheritance of the crown to his own grandchildren, the issue of his daughter by the Duke of York, and had therefore exerted himself to the utmost to compass the obnoxious match with the Duke of Richmond. Burnet tells us that "the Earl of Clarendon's son, the Lord Cornbury, was going to Mrs. Stewart's lodgings, upon some assignation she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door, coming out full of fury; and he, suspecting that Lord Cornbury was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for some time would not hear Lord Cornbury speak in his own defence. In the afternoon," continues Burnet, "he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me; yet this made so deep an impression that he resolved to take the Seals from his father."

Clarendon himself, speaking of his downfall, which presently followed, and of his uncertainty of the causes of it, says, using always, according to his custom in mentioning himself, the third person—"He had, before the storm fell on him, been informed by a person of honour, who knew the truth of it, that some persons had persuaded the King that the Chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the Duke of Richmond, with which his Majesty was offended in the highest degree, and the Lord Berkeley had reported it with all confidence." And in a letter of apology and expostulation, the last he ever wrote to Charles, alluding further to this report, he says—"If the ground for your displeasure be for any thing my Lord Berkeley hath reported (which I know he hath said to many, though, being charged with it by me, he did positively disclaim it,) I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice, or counsel, or countenance,

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in it than the child that is not born, which your Majesty seemed once to believe when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word, or received message from either in my life, and this I protest to your Majesty is true, as I have hope in heaven."

In the dearth of intelligence as to the character of the Duchess of Richmond's mind, and of her natural and acquired talents, it may be excusable to cite here an extravagant passage from the pen of that extravagant dramatist Lee, in his dedication to her of the tragedy of Theodosius. The bard gives her ample credit as well for wit, and taste, and literary patronage, as for kindness of heart, and the most exquisite beauty. "Ah, Madam," says he, "if all the short-lived happiness that miserable poets can enjoy consist in commendation only; nay, if the most part are content with popular breath, and even for that are thankful; how shall I express myself to your Grace, who, by a particular goodness and innate sweetness, merely for the sake of doing well, have thus raised me above myself? To have your Grace's favour is, in a word, to have the applause of the whole Court, who are its noblest ornament—magnificent and immortal praise! Something there is in your mien so much above what we vulgarly call charming that to me it seems adorable, and your presence almost divine, whose dazzling and majestic form is a proper mansion for the most elevated soul; and let me tell the world, nay, sighing, speak it to a barbarous age, your extraordinary love for heroic poetry is not the least argument to shew the greatness of your mind, and fullness of perfection. To hear you speak, with that infinite sweetness and cheerfulness of spirit that is natural to your Grace, is methinks to hear our tutelar angels: 'tis to bemoan the present malicious times, and remember the golden age: but to behold you too, is to make prophets quite forget their heaven, and bind the poets with eternal rapture," &c. We find, too, towards the conclusion, this strongly implied testimony to

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the purity of her morals, which however the preceding account here given of her conduct may render it scarcely necessary to insert—" All I can promise, Madam, and be able to perform, is that your Grace shall never see a play of mine that shall give offence to modesty and virtue."

The Duchess of Richmond survived her husband, who left her childless, and, having remained a widow for thirty years, died on the fifteenth of October, 1702, possessed of considerable wealth, which she bequeathed to her great nephew, Alexander, fifth Lord Blantyre.



CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA
QUEEN OF CHARLES THE SECOND
OB. 1705

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GORDON

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA,

WIFE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

THE circumstances of this Lady's life during her long residence in England, and of the rest of it we know almost nothing, will compose merely a dull tale of unvaried domestic wretchedness ; yet she was the consort of a great Prince, whose chief characteristics were wit, politeness, gaiety, and good humour ; who entertained towards her no sentiment of aversion ; who was beloved by her ; and to whom she never gave any reasonable cause of offence. All this is far from mysterious. Thousands of the tender and amiable sex pine unremittingly under the weight of griefs similar to her's, but the eyes of a nation are not upon them, and they pine under their sufferings, nearly unpitied and unobserved.

Catherine was the second daughter of John, Duke of Braganza, who in 1640 recovered to his family the Crown of Portugal from the usurpation of Spain, by his Queen, Louisa, daughter of John Emanuel Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. She was born in her father's ducal palace of Villa Viciosa on the twenty-fifth of November, 1638, N.S. the festival of St. Catherine, after whom she was named, and, according to the custom of her country, was bred in all the strictness of conventual education and discipline. Her father's affairs, some years after she had arrived at a marriageable age, assumed a very serious, and even critical aspect. The efforts of Spain to regain his country had little relaxed, and he was persecuted by repeated invasions from that power, while Cromwell, in resentment of some kindnesses shewn by him towards our exiled Monarch, had carried on against him a ruinous maritime war, and at length forced him to consent to a treaty little less disastrous. To crown his misfortunes, France,

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whose friendship with him had for some years furnished his chief ground of hope, abandoned him by the treaty of the Pyrenees. The Restoration occurred here just at that period, and, among the several expedients likely to extricate him from his difficulties which suggested themselves to the mind of John, the most hopeful seemed to be an alliance with England, especially if it could be cemented by the marriage of Charles to the Infanta Catherine.

The proposal was made immediately after, if not indeed a little before, the King's arrival. It was privately addressed, as we are told by Burnet, to General Monck, who readily adopted it, and, according to that writer, was all along the prime negotiator in the treaty, at least so far as related to the marriage, though that character is usually given by our historians to Hyde. Charles is said to have already resolved to marry none but a Catholic, and the lady had not only that qualification, but those, which were doubtless of higher estimation in his eyes, of youth, and no inconsiderable share of personal charms. He agreed to the match without hesitation; the King, her father, stipulated to give her a portion of five hundred thousand pounds, and to add to it the cession of the important post of Tangier, on the African shores of the Mediterranean, and the Island of Bombay, in the East Indies, together with a perfect freedom of trade with Portugal and her colonies, an advantage which she had hitherto uniformly denied to all other nations. These arrangements having been finally settled, orders were dispatched to the Earl of Sandwich, Vice Admiral of England, who was then commanding a fleet sent against the piratical States of Barbary, to sail to Lisbon; to act there as proxy for his master in the solemn espousal of the Infanta; and to proceed with her on board his ship to England. On the fourteenth of May, 1662, she arrived accordingly at Portsmouth, where she was received by the King. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, soon after Primate, was also waiting there to marry them privately, or rather to afford a

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pretext for persuading the people that it had been done by a protestant priest, for the Infanta wholly rejected him and his office. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," says Burnet, "came to perform the ceremony, but the Queen was bigotted to such a degree that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop: the King said the words hastily, and the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de factô*; but the Duke of York told me they were married by the Lord Aubigny, according to the Romish ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses."

After a stay of several weeks at Hampton Court, she made her first entry into London, accompanied by the King, with great pomp, on the twenty-third of August. Mr. Evelyn, evidently a spectator, and whose words I give because I think no account so particular of her person is to be met with elsewhere, says in his diary "the Queen arrived, with a train of Portuguese ladies, in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantas; their complexions olivader, and sufficiently disagreeable: Her Majesty in the same habit; her foretop long, and turned aside very strangely: She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and, though low of stature, prettily shaped; languishing and excellent eyes; her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest, lovely enough." Charles, who was a mere creature of sense, was for a time, as Burnet tells us, "well pleased with her, and carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly; but he grew weary of that restraint, and shook it off intirely." And Lord Clarendon says that "she had wit and beauty enough to make herself very agreeable to him," but adds, in contradiction to the rest of Burnet's report, that, even within a day or two after the Queen's arrival at Hampton Court, the King himself presented to her the Lady in question, Barbara Villiers, afterwards Countess of Castlemain, and Duchess of Cleveland; and that the Queen so far mastered her feelings at the time as to

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receive her with an affectation of the same grace as she had shewn to many others who were then introduced, but that she presently after wept and fainted, and was carried out of the room in great disorder ; and this, adds the noble historian, “ the King looked on with wonderful indignation, and considered it as an earnest of defiance, and his subsequent conversation on it with the Queen displeased him yet more highly.”

Thus commenced a discord which so rapidly increased that it soon became evident it must end either in separation or sullen indifference. Charles, fickle, irresolute, and deceitful, terrified and exasperated her in their private interviews, by threats which he never meant to execute, or cajoled her by promises that he did not intend to keep, just as the humour of the moment happened to dictate, and when others were present, chilled her by the most mortifying neglect. A little faction in the Court, which had originally opposed the marriage, laboured, and too successfully, to widen the breach ; magnified what they called her undutiful obstinacy in refusing to receive the mistress on terms of intimacy ; persuaded the King, even in opposition to probabilities of which himself was fully conscious, that he could entertain no reasonable hope of having children by her ; and at length goaded him on to an actual tyranny over her, which, with all his faults, was contrary to his nature. He suddenly dismissed the whole of her Portuguese retinue ; ennobled the lady who was so justly the object of her aversion ; and, to compleat a conquest not less base than cruel, forced the Queen into a personal intercourse with her by appointing her a Lady of the Bedchamber. The spirit of the unhappy Catherine was at length finally subdued. Destitute of friends and advisers, and unable to fly from a contest to the maintenance of which the strength of her own mind was no longer equal, she suddenly determined to purchase a most imperfect tranquillity by the sacrifice of her dignity as a Queen, and her character as a gentlewoman. She received the Countess of Castlemain into the most unbounded familiarity, and

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even confidence ; “ became merry with her,” says Lord Clarendon, “ in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly.” Those who may wish for a more full account of these domestic miseries of Royalty may find them detailed by that Nobleman in his memoirs of his own life, with a minuteness which it would be insufferable to adopt here.

This strange alteration produced no useful consequence to the Queen beyond the termination of those frequent, and sometimes furious personal bickerings which occurred between their Majesties, while it proved in all other respects very injurious to her. The kind hearted, who had compassionated her sufferings, suspected that she had no genuine feeling, and the high spirited, who had applauded her perseverance, concluded that she was mean and cowardly ; while those who were still anxious for her had no means of protecting her from the charge of insincerity but by ascribing to her an excess of caprice. Charles availed himself of all these pretexts for wholly estranging himself from her society, and the poor lady, either in the desperate hope of conciliating him by imitating, as far as she could, his irregularities, or of soothing her own cares by boisterous mirth, fell into strange and unbecoming excesses. “ She went about masked,” says Burnet, “ and came into houses unknown, and danced there, with a great deal of wild frolic. Once,” continues he, “ her chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her : so she was alone, and much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach ; some say it was in a cart.” Meanwhile, a profligate party in the Court, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, suggested various plans to the King for finally disposing of her. They advised him to pretend a previous marriage with the mother of his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth ; to bribe the Queen’s confessor to advise her to become a nun ; nay, so horribly abandoned was Buckingham as to propose to Charles that she should be secretly stolen away, and sent to one of the plantations in the West Indies, on which it should be given out, in order to enable

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the King to sue for a divorce, that she had deserted him ; and the wretch offered himself as the perpetrator of this villainy ; but Charles, adds Burnet, who relates these particulars, and may always be relied on when he speaks favourably of that Prince, or of any of his family, “ rejected this with horror, saying it was a wicked thing to make her miserable only because she was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers.” It was indeed well known that she had been more than once pregnant.

In this manner, always in affliction, and frequently in danger, were sacrificed twenty-three years of the innocent life of this Princess. No instance occurs of her having at any time used the slightest interference in public affairs ; and, even amidst the struggles which were incessantly made around her for the advancement in England of that faith to which she was so passionately attached, she seems to have remained constantly passive : yet the detestable Oates, in 1678, accused her of plotting with certain jesuits to assassinate the King, but with such palpable falsehood that Charles spurned the charge with horror and contempt. Her sufferings however ended but with the life of that Prince. Burnet tells us that in his last hours “ he said nothing of the Queen.” Mr. Evelyn however says that “ he intreated the Queen to pardon him,” and that, “ a little before, she had sent a Bishop, to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grief, and besought him to forgive her if at any time she had offended him ;” and the anonymous writer of a letter in the interesting collection lately published from the British Museum, who seems, from the manner in which he speaks of circumstances, to have actually witnessed them, gives this account—“ The Queen, whom he had asked for, the first thing he said on Monday, when he came out of his fit ; (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fits, not being able to speak while with him) sent a message to him, to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon,

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if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied, ‘ alas, poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg her’s with all my heart.’”

She remained in England during the short reign of James. We find in Evelyn’s Diary this notice, under the date of the twenty-fifth of May, 1688—“ The Queen Dowager, hitherto bent on her return into Portugal, now, on the sudden, on allegation of a great debt owing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.” On the coming however of the Prince of Orange she departed, and died at Lisbon, on the thirty-first of December, 1705, N. S.



HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON

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WAS the fifth son of the Reverend Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, by Catherine, daughter of Maurice Suckling, Doctor in Divinity, Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of Barsham, in Suffolk, and was born at Burnham Thorpe on the twenty-ninth of September, 1758.

The life of this illustrious Commander has been written by at least five several authors, of whose labours none have nearly approached the merit and beauty of Mr. Southey's two small volumes, which, while they breathe the true spirit of an Englishman, are justly distinguished among the most popular pieces of biography in our language. The limits of the present work would not admit, were it requisite, even the shortest intelligible detail of Nelson's splendid achievements: indeed they are chronicled in the hearts of his countrymen, and will survive as long as the annals of our nation: but, as the skill of the artist may enable us to judge of the expression of his features, so the sketch that will occupy the few following pages is merely designed to exhibit the lineaments of his character.

The constitution of Nelson's mind was peculiarly adapted to the naval profession. To a love of enterprize, a zeal for maritime knowledge, and a hardihood of intrepidity, which, even in the honourable service he so highly adorned, has never been surpassed, he joined an integrity of purpose, a disdain of every sordid action, an insatiable thirst for glory, which could hardly fail to raise him to the height of his ambition. Every step of his progress from infancy to age was marked by some circumstance that gradually advanced the two great objects for which only he seemed to live, and for which he bravely died: the first was the love of his

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country: the second, the attainment of personal renown. From his mother, who was of gentle blood, he inherited an affectionate heart, a love of truth, and an antipathy to the French. The two first formed the basis of his disinterested kindness, and inflexible integrity: the last, though not a virtue but a prejudice, fostered that spirit of hostility to the habitual enemies of his country which animated his courage in the day of battle, but instantly yielded to his benevolence when the foe submitted to his power.

The fearless spirit which led him to the choice of his profession showed itself at twelve years old, when he happened to read in a newspaper that Captain Suckling was appointed to a ship. "Do, William," said he to his elder brother, "write to my father to let me go to sea with uncle Maurice." The letter was dispatched, and the answer conveyed a reluctant consent. In reply to the consequent application, "What has poor Horace done," wrote his uncle, "that he, who is so weak above all the rest, should be sent to rough it at sea. But let him come, and the first time we go into action a cannon ball may knock off his head, and provide for him at once." He joined, however, and many a heart-ache it cost him before he was reconciled to the hard treatment of a man of war.

Nelson's perfect knowledge as a practical seaman was first gained on a voyage in a merchant vessel to the West Indies; next while serving as coxswain to Captain Lutwidge, of the *Carcass*, on the expedition to discover a north-west passage; and afterwards in a service of five years in the foretop of the *Seahorse*, in the East Indies, during which he sustained the most severe privations, and "visited," as he himself related, "almost every port between Bengal and Bussorah." When at length he became a commissioned officer, this hard service proved an admirable training for his higher responsibility, as it rendered him familiar with the duties of those whom he had to command.

While so serving, he had formed a settled habit of diligent inquiry into every sort of knowledge which might bear on his

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profession. Like Philopœmen of old, wheresoever he came he looked around with the keen eye of a commander, regarding every port and position as a lesson in naval tactics to be reserved for the time when his prophetic spirit assured him that he should lead the fleets of England to victory. Thus ardent in pursuit of knowledge : more ardent still for renown : he was a volunteer for every service of danger or difficulty. He lost no occasion of gaining reputation, and his life became an almost constant scene of activity and exertion, every exploit being but the prelude to another.

His first enterprize as a commander on shore, in storming the fort of San Juan, on the Spanish main, gave him that practical skill and confidence in military operations which he afterwards so ably displayed while serving in person at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi. His disputes with the American merchants in the West Indies, and his investigation of the frauds practiced in the civil departments of our colonies, produced that facility and acuteness in public affairs which led to the most important advantages when he was afterwards engaged in political correspondence, and negotiations of delicate and decisive character. These observations are designed to show that Nelson's genius was gradually prepared for the high station to which he was destined, and that, while he seemed to others only the most fortunate officer in the navy, by enjoying opportunities of obtaining reputation for which others panted in vain, his diligent and exemplary conduct had marked him out to his successive commanders as an officer qualified for services of the greatest trust. A stranger perhaps might not then discern beneath his homely exterior any traces of the latent ambition of this remarkable man ; but those who shared his intimacy, and possessed the means of closely observing his character, foresaw that only fit occasion was wanting to raise him to the highest honours of his profession. Many striking expressions are recorded of his early years which show that he had a settled purpose of outdoing all the achievements of his naval predecessors.

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The common notion of sailors that one Briton is a match for three Frenchmen was deliberately adopted into his creed, and, calculating upon this advantage as the short and easy road to fame, he resolved upon enterprizes heretofore deemed impracticable. He cheerfully set his life upon the cast—"Victory, or Westminster-abbey," his favourite war-cry.

An old Italian proverb says that "he who would be Pope must take it strongly into his head and he shall be Pope." Nelson, from the moment that he first went to sea, appears to have reasoned and acted on this quaint maxim. He was determined to succeed in whatsoever he undertook. When he attacked the bear upon the ice, while a youngster on the frozen ocean, and when afterwards, as an Admiral, he bore down upon the French squadron at the Nile, this was the load-star that guided him to conquest.—On beholding the gallant ships of the enemy, Captain Berry, in an ecstasy of delight, exclaimed—"If we succeed what will the world say?"—"There's no If in the case," replied Nelson: "that we shall succeed, is certain. Who may live to tell the story is a very different question." His personal valour sometimes rose to enthusiasm, as when, with only his boat's crew, he fought the Spanish commodore hand to hand in Cadiz bay; or when, on St. Valentine's day, he boarded two of their ships of the line; yet even then it was regulated by a steady sense of duty. His was not a blind physical courage: he knew and felt the danger, but his self-possession never deserted him. At Copenhagen, during, as he often declared, the hottest engagement that he had ever witnessed, the fire of the Danish batteries was doing terrible execution on board our ships, when a shot struck the Elephant's main-mast close to him. "Warm work," said Nelson to the officer with whom he was pacing the deck; "this day may be the last to many of us in a moment—but mark me," said he, stopping short at the gangway,—“I would not be elsewhere for thousands.” Soon after this, Sir Hyde Parker became exceedingly anxious for Nelson's critical position, and made the recal signal. This being

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reported, Nelson, humorously putting the glass to his blind eye, said "I can't see the signal," and directed that for close action to be kept flying. On the last day of his life his farewell to Captain Blackwood, as well as other circumstances of his conduct, showed a remarkable presentiment that he should receive his death wound in the approaching conflict: yet, under this foreboding, the cool deliberation with which he made his dispositions, and gave his orders, and watched every movement of the enemy, while exposed to a hailstorm of bullets, proved the imperturbable intrepidity of his heart.

Unwearied perseverance was another striking feature of Nelson's character. Every succeeding triumph indeed was but the inspiration of a greater undertaking. "*Nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum.*" He set no value on personal comforts, nor cared for the severest privations. Public duty, while afloat, occupied all his thoughts. For two long years he watched with cat-like vigilance the Toulon fleet, and when the French Admiral put to sea in a heavy gale, which blew Nelson off their coast, and, uniting with the Spaniards at Cadiz, sailed for the West Indies, with eighteen sail of the line, having on board four thousand troops, he pursued them thither, with ten ships only, and tracked them with such speed and sagacity through those islands that false intelligence alone saved them from his grasp. Returning to England, worn down by the unceasing anxiety and fatigue of this extraordinary chase, he had scarcely arrived at Merton, his beloved retreat near London, to enjoy a short repose, when he was roused at five in the morning by Captain Blackwood, on his way to the Admiralty with dispatches. Nelson instantly exclaimed, "I am sure you bring me news of the enemy's fleet, and I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." In three weeks from his landing he was again at Portsmouth. On resuming the command, Lord Barham, who was then at the head of the Admiralty, presented the navy-list to him, desiring him to chuse his officers. "Chuse yourself, my Lord," said Nelson; "they are all actuated

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by the same spirit; you cannot chuse wrong." The offer and refusal were equally creditable to these two honourable men.

Nelson's consideration for others was strongly marked at the unfortunate attack of Teneriffe. Mr. Nisbet, son of his Lady by a former husband, was serving on board of Nelson's ship, the *Theseus*. Knowing the very desperate nature of the service in contemplation, he resolved that this young man should not accompany him, but when all was prepared, Nisbet appeared before him, equipped to take his share in it. Nelson urged him to remain on board, saying—"Should we both fall, Josiah, what will become of your poor mother? the care of the *Theseus* falls to you." Nisbet replied—"Sir, the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to-night if I never go again." Providential indeed was this resolve, for Nelson lost his arm by a grape shot at the instant of landing. Nisbet raised him from the beach; bound up his wound; and by great exertions conveyed him safely under the enemy's fire. They had to pass through the drowning crew of the *Fox* cutter, which was just then sunk by a shot from the batteries. Nelson, though in great agony, laboured with his remaining hand to save several of these poor fellows; and when afterwards it was proposed to take him alongside Captain Fremantle's ship, for surgical aid, he insisted on being carried forward to the *Theseus*, lest his sudden presence should alarm that gallant officer's wife, who happened to be on board. So little did he regard his own sufferings that in the dispatch, written with his left hand two days after the action, he made no allusion to his wound. A similar omission was observed three years before, when he lost an eye at the siege of Calvi: nor should it be forgotten that, when severely, and, as he believed, mortally, wounded in the battle of the Nile, the explosion of the French Admiral's ship instantly recalled him from the cockpit, whither he had been carried, and he at once forgot his own peril and anguish while giving directions to save the remains of her crew from destruction.

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Nelson's affectionate heart cherished a constant sense of obligation to his early patrons and benefactors. He always entertained a peculiar respect for the memory of his honoured uncle Suckling, whose character he adopted as his model, and whose sword, preserved as a relique, was worn on all his fighting days, except indeed the last, for it is remarkable that he had no sword in the battle of Trafalgar. With the same grateful sentiments did he regard Captain Locker, under whom he had served in very early life, and who became a firm and valuable patron to him, after he had lost his uncle. Many beautiful traits of his affectionate attachment appear in his published correspondence with that truly brave officer, and most benevolent man, with whom the author of these sheets is proud of this opportunity to say that he had the happiness of enjoying a long and intimate friendship. It affords him much pleasure to insert the following short letter, with which he has been lately favoured by one of Captain Locker's sons, written at the moment when Lord Nelson received the sad tidings of the decease of his venerable commander.

" MY DEAR JOHN,

27 December, 1800.

From my heart do I condole with you on the great and irreparable loss we have all sustained in the death of your dear worthy father—a man whom to know was to love, and those who only heard of him honoured. The greatest consolation to us, his friends who remain, is that he has left a character for honour and honesty which none can surpass, and very, very few attain. That the posterity of the righteous will prosper we are taught to believe, and on no occasion can it be more truly verified than from my dear much-lamented friend; and that it may be realized in you, your sister, and brothers, is the fervent prayer of,

My dear John,

Your afflicted friend,

" To John Locker, Esq."

NELSON."

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Lord Nelson was bred in too good a school to undervalue any of the true principles of seamanship or discipline. Upon the latter his sound judgement was ably expressed in a letter to his friend Lord St. Vincent, then presiding at the Admiralty, of which we have only space to insert the concluding paragraph—"You and I are quitting the theatre of our exploits, but we hold it due to our successors never, whilst we have a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, to allow the navy to be in the smallest degree injured in it's discipline." Maintaining these principles in every essential point of service, he seemed not much to esteem that excessive smartness and symmetry which is the delight of a mere parade officer, to whose minute vision Nelson's ship perhaps had what is called "the air of a privateer." But the laxity or indulgence which he permitted was never injurious to good order. He indeed abhorred the lash, and all needless severity, and often used a freedom and familiarity of expression and demeanour towards his officers, and sometimes to the seamen, which, while it afforded an example of confidence and kindness to those around him, generated a kindred spirit throughout the fleet, and greatly tended to ameliorate the sternness of a naval discipline, of which too much still prevails, but which formerly was at once the prejudice and reproach of that noble profession. When the day of trial came, no commander was ever more promptly obeyed than Nelson: none more firmly supported, nor more devotedly followed. There was a secret charm in his voice and manner which inspired his men with the same enthusiastic valour which fired his own bosom; and, whether they were called upon to endure privation, to struggle with the fury of the elements, to pursue a superior enemy, or to engage him in fight, the spirit of Nelson seemed to breathe in the hearts of his crew, who regarded him with a faith little short of idolatry. When borne from the deck at Trafalgar, the grief of his followers served but to whet their courage; and, as he descended to the cockpit, he seemed to have cast his mantle upon the gallant Hardy, his captain, who conducted the operations

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of the fleet with such ability, that all were unconscious of Nelson's fate till the victory was secured.

That he held in high estimation, perhaps too high, the honourable distinctions which he had won by his great services appeared on many occasions, but it deserves to be remarked that this vanity scarcely showed itself until his better judgement was unsettled by the base flattery of those who proved the greatest enemies of his peace and honour. The orders which constantly glittered on his uniform after his return from Naples were exhibited with an anxiety for display which ill assorted with the general simplicity of his character; but this weakness was most dearly expiated by pointing him out to the marksman who levelled the fatal ball at his bosom.

Lord Nelson's figure exhibited none of the dignified appearance of a person of his rank and station, nor, except when animated by some discussion of deep professional interest, did his countenance bespeak him a man of superior intelligence. There was a slouch in his gait, and a peculiar pout of his lip when he spoke, which, added to a strong Norfolk dialect, gave remarkable naïveté to his manner; and, when much interested in his subject, the constant agitation of the remnant of his right arm greatly increased the effect of these singularities. His temper was somewhat quick, but more apparent in trifles than on occasions of any importance. The blunder of a servant; the difficulty of folding a letter in haste; or some uneasiness in his dress; would often provoke these little sallies of impatience: but in affairs of moment he maintained the calmest self-possession both in thought and action. There was a blunt native eloquence in his style of writing, as well as speaking, which was highly characteristic of his manly integrity. Many of his published letters are written with great felicity of expression, as well as distinguished by much vigour of thought, and benevolence of spirit. Like all men of real force of character, he went straight to his object, and so escaped all those difficulties incident to doubt, finesse, or timidity, which embarrass the proceedings of vacillating and crafty minds.

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That warmth of feeling which inspired his courage, and prompted his benevolence, was at the same time the source of certain errors in private life, and of the unhappiness which flowed from them. He had the misfortune to lose his mother at a very early age, when the first principles of piety and morals are commonly imbibed from maternal instruction ; and, though a partial blessing seems to have rested on the lessons he then received, they made but a feeble stand against temptations which, when he advanced to manhood, proved too powerful for one of his ardent temperament. His early marriage with a beautiful and amiable widow of nineteen, Frances Herbert, daughter of Mr. Woolward, of Nevis, and relict of Josiah Nisbet, a physician of the same island, inspired his friends with sanguine hopes that this union of mutual attachment would secure his future happiness. Nor did it fail, till the ill-omened visit to Naples in 1799, when his affections were suddenly transferred to another, whose fascinating influence wrought a lamentable change in his sentiments towards the virtuous lady, from whom he at length estranged himself.

This fatal connection cast also the only blot upon his public character. By her who had supplanted the wife of his bosom he was persuaded to yield himself to the sanguinary plans of political vengeance pursued by the Sicilian Court on it's restoration to Naples. But we gladly turn from the scenes of horror which his want of firmness brought upon the devoted victims of that heartless court, whose favours to his country were dearly purchased by the sacrifice of his honour. This partial surrender of his high principles shook those pure and virtuous feelings which had hitherto marked his conduct. All went wrong from this point of moral aberration. The manly simplicity of his character gave way to the gross flattery which surrounded him, and, being persuaded to resign his command, he allowed himself to be exhibited through the continent in a manner unworthy of his great name. Had he returned to England on his proper element, and alone, reflection would have reinstated his better judgement, and the

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affectionate reception of a forgiving wife, if she had been supported in her virtuous purpose by those whom every species of obligation seemed peculiarly to bind to the performance of that duty, would have assuredly restored his self-respect, and with it his peace of mind. But the reverse of this took place: all conspired to rivet the fatal chains with which he was bound, and thus united to ruin his domestic happiness for ever. A still severer fate awaited the author of all this mischief. A few short years closed her career. Disease, and poverty, and despair, drove her into exile; and she, who had been gifted with beauty and talents which few of her sex could rival, expired, a stranger and a pauper, at a foreign inn. The fatal infatuation with which she had inspired our beloved Nelson alloyed his dying hours. While his life gradually ebbed away, his last thoughts still vibrated between this overwhelming passion, and his not inferior love of glory.



SIR THOMAS MORE

W. C. LINTHICOT, 1800

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IN composing, several years since, a small sketch of the life of this admirable person, which has been published in another biographical collection, I summed up his character as it appeared to me, in terms which it may be pardonable to repeat here; for a second and more exact review of his conduct has furnished no ground for change of opinion, and to alter the diction of a few simple passages which the same pen could perhaps scarcely otherwise express, would produce but a silly counterfeit of originality. I shall perhaps take a similar liberty in a few subsequent instances, in the progress of the present work, and beg leave, once for all, to offer this apology for the practice, as well as for having said here so much on the subject.

To say that Sir Thomas More's was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, an age which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilised man without his simplicity, and the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit; to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal at any period, might be deemed presumptuous: but, if the wise and honest statesman, the acute and incorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious christian, and the patient martyr, form a perfect private character, ecce homo.

He was born in Milk street, Cheapside, about the year 1480, the only son of Sir John More, a Judge of the King's Bench, by his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire. He acquired the learned languages at the hospital

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of St. Anthony, in the parish of St. Benet Fink, in London, then a school of high reputation, from whence he was removed to St. Mary Hall, or, as some have said, to Canterbury College, now Christchurch, in the University of Oxford. The primate, Cardinal Morton, in whose family he passed some of his earliest years, in the character of a gentleman attendant, according to the fashion of that time, charmed as much by his wit as by his learning, often said to the great persons at his table, "this child here waiting, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous great man;" and the prediction soon began to be verified, for, even at the age of eighteen, the literary fame which he had acquired provoked the envy of some German critics, and the praise of others. Erasmus, at that time, wrote to him in the behalf of Brixius, one of the former class, who had attacked him in an invective intituled "Antimorus," seriously intreating his mercy to that old and experienced disputant.

Just at this period he left the university, and began to study the law in New Inn, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn, passing his hours of leisure in a circle, of which he naturally became the centre, composed of those whose wisdom and learning could best inform, and of those the vivacity of whose genius could most delight. At the age of twenty-one, when he had barely been called to the station of an utter barrister, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, and was presently distinguished there for a freedom of conduct which, at that time, could have arisen only from the purest motives. In that spirit he opposed in 1503 the requisition of a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to the King of Scots, with such force and honesty of reasoning, that the rejection of the demand is said to have been ascribed almost wholly to his endeavours. A privy counsellor ran immediately from the house, and told the King "that a beardless boy had overthrown all his purpose," and Henry satisfied at once his anger and his avarice by committing, under some

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frivolous pretences, the young senator's father to the Tower, and forcing him to purchase his release by the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds. More, however, became so alarmed at the King's resentment that he retired for a considerable time from the parliament, and from his professional avocations, and during that interval, which seems to have been passed in a place of concealment, he studied geometry, astronomy, and music, in which last he much delighted, and exercised his pen in historical composition.

He returned at length to his practice at the bar, which presently became so extensive as to produce, according to his own report to his son-in-law, and biographer, Mr. Roper, an annual income of four hundred pounds, equal at least to five thousand in our days. He remained however in disfavour at court till after the accession of Henry the eighth, who, with all his faults, easily discovered, and generally encouraged, true merit. The King sent for him by Wolsey, and, on the first taste of his extraordinary powers, determined to employ him. Foreign negotiation was then held to be the most essential part of the education of a statesman. More was directed therefore in 1516 to accompany Tostal, Bishop of Durham, one of his intimate friends, to Flanders, for the renewal of a treaty of alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles the fifth, and on his return was warmly invited by Henry to devote himself to the service of the Crown, which his prudence, and indeed his interests, induced him at that time, and for some years after, to decline. The King at length pressed him with such earnestness that he durst no longer refuse, and in 1519 he accepted the office of a Master of the Requests; was soon after knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council; and in the succeeding year appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer. More's hesitation had been wholly unaffected. On the occasion of his becoming a Privy Counsellor, he expressed himself (according to Stapleton, one of his biographers,) to his bosom friend, Bishop Fisher, in these terms; and the passage is rendered the more valuable by the features which it discloses, on.

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such good authority, of Henry's character at that time. "I am come to the court extremely against my will, as every body knows, and as the King himself often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth sit unhandsomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose special and extraordinary favour towards me I know not how I shall ever be able to deserve, is so affable and courteous to all men, that every one who has never so little hope of himself may find somewhat whereby he may imagine that he loveth him; even as the citizens' wives of London do, who imagine that our Lady's picture, near the Tower, doth smile upon them as they pray before it. But I am not so happy that I can perceive such fortunate signs of deserving his love, and of a more abject spirit than that I can persuade myself that I have it already: yet, such is the virtue and learning of the King, and his daily increasing industry in both, that by how much the more I see his Highness increase in both these kingly ornaments, by so much the less troublesome this courtier's life seemeth unto me."

In 1523 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and in the following year, says Hakewel, of the House of Peers. In the former capacity he again distinguished himself by his firm opposition to a subsidy, and, personally, to Wolsey, who came to the house, in his usual splendor, to influence the decision by his presence. On a question having been previously debated whether they should receive him but with a few attendants, or with his whole train, More is reported to have said, "Masters, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame on those whom his Grace bringeth with him." The favour of Henry, whose natural generosity of spirit then perhaps remained

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unabated, was not impaired by this unusual freedom : More, in 1526 was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster ; in the following year was joined to Wolsey, and others, in an embassy to the Court of France ; and in 1529 went with Tonsal to Cambray, to secure the payment of certain sums due to the King from Charles the fifth, his success in which business won him the highest approbation. He was now Henry's most esteemed servant, and most familiar companion, but he had found some reasons to alter his opinion of his master's character. Roper informs us that, about this time, Henry coming suddenly, as he frequently did, to dine with More at his house at Chelsea, and walking long after dinner in the garden, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck, Roper, after the King's departure, congratulated him on so distinguished a mark of royal kindness, observing that no one except Wolsey had ever before experienced such condescension. " I thank our Lord, son," replied More, " I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm ; howbeit, son Roper, I must tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off."

Henry's mind was now wholly occupied by his long cherished project of the divorce. He had consulted and reasoned with More on that great subject, and had met with a firm opposition. So attached, however, was he to the man, or so anxious for the sanction of his coincidence, that he determined to gratify the one, or to bribe the other, by a grant of the first station under the crown. More was appointed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1530, to succeed the disgraced Cardinal in the office of High Chancellor, which had never before been held by a layman, and this was the first serious blow struck by Henry at the power of the priesthood. He entered on it with melancholy forebodings, which were too soon verified. With a Christian perfection, which, as has been well said, and by a dissenter too, was such as made him " not only an

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honour to any particular form of Christianity, but to the Christian name and cause in general ;” his zeal for the Romish church was equalled only by the benevolent spirit in which he exercised it. He had for some time beheld in silent horror the gradual approaches to the downfall of that church, and was now called to a situation in which he was compelled either to aid its enemies with his counsels, and to ratify their decisions by his official acts, or to incur the severest penalties by his refusal. He virtuously preferred the latter, and, having persevered to the end in denying any degree of countenance to the proposed divorce, on the sixteenth of May, 1533, he resigned the seal, determined that it should never be placed by his hand on the instrument by which that process was to be concluded.

The definitive sentence was pronounced and published on the twenty-third, and the coronation of Anne Boleyn, to whom the impatient Henry had been for some time united, at least by the forms of matrimony, was fixed for the thirty-first of the same month. More, doubtless by the King’s order, was pressed by several of the Bishops who were to officiate, to be present at the ceremony, for his reputation stood so high in the kingdom that even the slightest colour of approbation from him was esteemed important ; but he stedfastly refused, and boldly declared to those prelates his conviction of the illegality of the marriage. Henry now sought to move him by terror. In the ensuing parliament a bill of attainder against him was agitated in the House of Peers, for misprision of treason in the affair of that enthusiast, or impostor, who was called the Holy Maid of Kent, and he was more than once cited before the Privy Council on other charges, but the evidence on each proved too weak even for the terrible fashion of that reign. The act of supremacy, which appeared in 1534, at length fixed his fate. When the oath prescribed by it was tendered to him he declined to take it, and was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and, on a second refusal, a few days after, to the Tower of London.

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Endeavours were now again ineffectually used to win him by persuasion, while the kind and merciful Cranmer as vainly endeavoured to prevail on the King to dispense with the oath in More's case. After fifteen months' imprisonment, he was arraigned of high treason at the King's Bench bar, for denying the King's supremacy. Rich, the Solicitor-General, afterwards Chancellor, was the sole witness against him, and the testimony of that wretch, whose name should be consigned to eternal infamy, consisted in the repetition of speeches which he had artfully drawn from More, during a visit to his prison, in a familiar conversation, which Rich had commenced by expressly declaring that he had no commission to agitate in it any matter regarding the prosecution. Much even of this evidence Sir Thomas positively denied, but the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; a doom which Henry altered, in consideration of the high office which he had held. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the fifth of July, 1535, and his revered head was ignominiously exposed on London Bridge, from whence, after many days, it was privately obtained by his affectionate daughter, Roper, and by her placed in the vault of her husband's family, under a chapel adjoining to St. Dunstan's church in Canterbury. His body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but afterwards removed, at the solicitation of that lady, to the parish church of Chelsea, and buried there, in the chancel, near a monument which he had some years before erected, with an inscription written by himself.

Perhaps of all the remarkable persons who adorned or disgraced the age in which he lived we are the most clearly acquainted with the life and character of Sir Thomas More; and this, though few men have found more biographers, for his life has been ten times separately written and published, we owe chiefly to the perfect candour and sincerity which distinguished him. His acts and his sayings composed the history not only of his conduct but of his motives, and left to those who have written of him only the

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simple task of collecting facts, to which the fondest partiality could add no further grace, and on which even malice could have cast no blemish. But he lived without enemies, and, since his death, Bishop Burnet only has dared to lift a pen against his memory. In his earnest devotion to the Catholic faith, and to the See of Rome, he was severe only to himself. The fury of conflicting zealots was calmed while they reflected on his virtues, and when Rome celebrated his canonization with a just and honest triumph, the church of England looked on in silent approbation. In his court no one ever presided with more wisdom, learning, and perspicacity; with a more rigid devotion to justice; or with more vigilance, impartiality, and patience: when he quitted it, he left not a single cause undecided. The strictness of his loyalty, and his magnanimous independence, were always in perfect unison, because they flowed from one and the same source, an honest heart. In all the domestic relations the beauty of his life was unparalleled. Erasmus has left us a glowing picture of him, retired, at Chelsea, in the bosom of his family. The passage has been thus translated. "More hath built near London, upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family; his wife, his son, and daughter in law; his three daughters, and their husbands; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate with his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could have happened more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's academy; but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's academy, where there was only disputations of numbers, and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school or university of christian religion, for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal

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sciences: their special care is piety and virtue: there is no quarrelling, or intemperate words, heard; none seen idle; which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and haughty words, but with all kind and courteous favour. Every body performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity; neither is sober mirth anything wanting."

More himself has proved the correctness of Erasmus's account in the dedication, to an intimate friend, of his *Utopia*, by expressions which I cannot help inserting here, for it is not easy to quit the story of his private life—"Whilst I daily plead other men's causes," says he (to use the words of his translator) "or hear them, sometimes as an arbitrator, other while as a judge: whilst this man I visit for friendship, another for business, and whilst I am employed abroad about other men's matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myself, that is for study: for when I come home I must discourse with my wife; chat with my children; speak with my servants; and, seeing this must needs be done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are, unless one would be a stranger in his own house: for we must endeavour to be affable and pleasing to whom either nature, chance, or, choice, hath made our companions: but with such measure it must be done that we don't mar them with affability, or make them of servants our masters, by too much gentle entreaty and favour. Whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth. When then can I find any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping, which things alone bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I get only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep; which, because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet, it being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished, and sent unto you, my *Utopia*."

The chief singularity of his character was a continual disposition to excessivemirth, and the Lord High Chancellor of England

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was perhaps the first droll in the kingdom. Lord Herbert, willing, for obvious reasons, to find fault with him, and unable to discover any other ground, censures the levity of his wit; and Mr. Addison well observes that "what was philosophy in him would have been phrenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners." Feeling that gaiety was the result of innocence, he seems to have conceived that the active indulgence of it was a moral duty. Among other hints of this remarkable opinion which are scattered in his works, speaking of the Utopian burials, at which he tells us none grieved, he says "when those to whom the deceased was most dear be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners, and his good deeds, but no part is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death." That his own was such is well known. He had not been shaved during his long imprisonment, and after he had placed his neck on the block, he raised his hand, and put his beard forward, saying that it should not be cut off, for it had committed no treason. His witticisms are to be still found in abundance even in every ordinary jest book, and none have been better authenticated.

That Sir Thomas More should have found leisure for most extensive and various exercise of his pen is truly astonishing. In his youth he composed some pieces in English verse, which do him little credit, and would, had they not been his, have been long since forgotten. They are intituled, "A merry jest, how a serjeant would learn to play a frier."—"A rueful lamentation on the death of Elizabeth, wife of Henry the seventh."—"Certain metres for the Book of Fortune."—Ballads called "Lewys, the lost Lover," and "Davy, the dicer,"—and nine sets of lines, explanatory of as many devices painted on certain hangings in his father's house. The first and last of these are supposed to have been his earliest productions. His prose works, in English, are a treatise on the text "*Memorare Novissima, et in æternum non peccabis.*"—A Dialogue, treating of the worship of Images

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and Reliques, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, and “touching the pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale.”—“The Supplication of Souls,” written against Simon Fishe’s popular tract named “The Supplication of Beggars.”—“A Confutation of Tyndale,” in nine books.—“An Apology,” in answer to a book intituled “a Treatise of the division between the Spirituality and Temporality.”—“The Debellation of Salem and Bizance,” written in reply to an answer to that Apology.—“An Answer to the first part of the poisoned book which a nameless Heretic” (John Frith) “hath named ‘the Supper of the Lord.’”—“A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation.”—“A Treatise to receive the blessed body of Christ, sacramentally and virtually both.”—The life of Picus, Earl of Mirandola, translated from the Latin; and several letters, among which are many to his family, beautifully illustrative of his character. All these were collected, and published in 1557, in one very bulky volume, by his sister’s son, William Rastall, the eminent lawyer, together with an English translation of the Utopia.

His Latin works are the Lives of Edward the fifth, and Richard the third, unfinished, which may be found translated, and completed, by Bishop Kennet, in the best general collection extant of English history. The celebrated Utopia, of which twelve editions have been published in its original form, eleven in English, two in French, and one in Italian; and several smaller works, most of which were printed together at Louvain, in 1566, namely, “*Expositio Passionis Domini.*”—“*Precationes ex Psalmis.*”—“*Quod pro fide mors fugienda non est.*”—“*Responsio ad convitia Martini Lutheri.*”—“*Imploratio divini auxilii contra tentationem, cum insultatione contra Dæmones, ex spe et fiducia in Deum.*”—“*Epigrammata,*”—“*Progymnasmata,*”—“*Epistolæ,*”—and “*Epistola ad Academiam Oxon.*” He also translated the Dialogues of Lucian into Latin, and wrote annotations on the works of that author.

Sir Thomas More, when about the age of twenty-four, married

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Jane, daughter of John Colte, of Candish, in Suffolk, and of Newhall, in Essex; by whom he had an only son, John; and three daughters, Margaret, wife of William Roper, of Eltham, in Kent, uncle to the first Lord Teynham; Elizabeth, of John, son and heir of Sir John Dauntsey; and Cicely, of Giles Heron, of Shacklewell, in Middlesex. Their brother, who has been idly said to have possessed scarcely common understanding, married an heiress of the family of Cressacre, of Barnborough, in Yorkshire, and so acquired estates there, which descended in the male line till the year 1795, when they fell by marriage to a family of Metcalfe, the heir male of which assumed, with an honest pride, the surname of his great ancestor. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Alice Middleton, a widow, the "old wife" mentioned by Erasmus, in a passage lately cited, and we are told by others that she was ugly, ill-tempered, and vulgar: by her he had no issue.



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THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF GREYMONTE

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THIS Monarch, and surely to no one who ever swayed a sceptre was that title, in its strictest sense, more justly due, was born on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491. He had at once the education of a Prince and a Prelate, and indeed it has been said that his frugal father had intended to place him at the head of the English church: the premature death however of his elder brother, Arthur, invested him with the inheritance to the throne, which he mounted, upon the death of Henry the seventh, on the twenty-second of April, 1509. His accession was marked by the most auspicious circumstances: his kingdom was in a state of perfect tranquillity at home, and in amity with all the nations of Europe, and the treasure left to him by his father was enormous: his youth, his fine person, the liveliness of his disposition, his love of splendor, and his devotion to manly and vigorous exercises, won the hearts of his subjects, and the union in himself of the two mighty houses which had so long contended for the Crown had fixed unquestionably his right, and augmented his power to rule them. His reign began with a popular sacrifice, and Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, who had been the chief ministers to his father's avarice, were led to the scaffold; meanwhile the question, big with such unforeseen and mighty consequences, of his marriage to Catherine of Arragon, widow of his brother Arthur, was agitated as a matter of state policy, and speedily settled, and they were espoused on the third of June, following his father's death.

It was unlikely that a Prince young, haughty, wealthy, and inexperienced, should allow his country long to enjoy the advantages of peace. Pope Julius the second, whose genius was alto-

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gether warlike and political, had been for some time engaged in a quarrel with France on the affairs of Italy which had divided the powers of the continent into two rancorous parties. He had made overtures to Henry, and the more effectually to gain his assistance, had offered not only to declare him head of the Italian league, but to transfer to him the title of "Rex Christianissimus," so highly cherished by the French Monarchs. Henry consented, and the more readily because Ferdinand, his Queen's father, had lately adopted the same course. It was agreed that he should invade France from the Spanish frontier, which he did, with ten thousand men, to little purpose, while his naval force engaged with better success in the English channel. In the mean time Ferdinand affected to perform his part by marching an army into Navarre, a neutral country, with the secret view, which he accomplished, of annexing the most of it to his own dominions, and leaving the rest to be taken possession of by the French, and virtually abandoned the league. Henry however continued to prosecute his part of the war with vigour ; renewed with Leo the tenth the engagements which he had made with Julius, lately deceased ; induced the Emperor, by the payment of a large subsidy, to declare against France ; and in the summer of 1513 passed over into that country in person, at the head of a powerful army, to make a campaign of three months, more distinguished by its romantic splendor and gallantry than by any important military exploits. It was during this his short absence that the war with Scotland, in which its King, James the fourth, paid with his life the forfeit for his attachment to France, began and ended ; and Henry received the trophies of the victory of Flodden Field while he was besieging Tournay, which surrendered to him on the following day. A few months however produced a peace with France. Henry, enraged by new duplicities on the part of his father-in-law, and also of the Emperor Maximilian, not only signed suddenly a treaty of alliance with Louis, but gave his beautiful sister Mary in marriage to that Prince, who was nearly

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forty years older than herself, and who survived the nuptials scarcely three months.

It was at this period that the King's favour to that extraordinary person Thomas Wolsey became evident. He was now Dean of Lincoln, in which station Henry had found him when he succeeded to the Crown, and so necessary had his presence become to his master, that when the army was equipped for the late voyage to France, the care of victualling it was ridiculously committed to him, as a pretext for his personal attendance. He was seen soon after the King's return the sole director of his policy, and the chief partner in his pleasures. He was invested, as it were at once, with the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical dignities of the realm; was appointed High Chancellor; and at length created a Cardinal. Francis the first, who had succeeded to the throne of France, and the Emperor Charles the fifth, the two most powerful Princes of Europe, conscious of his influence over Henry, courted him with adulation even servile. In their contest for the friendship of our Monarch, Charles, who was the better politician, prevailed. Francis had paid Henry the compliment of soliciting that interview with him which passed on the French coast in 1520 with such chivalrous magnificence, but Charles had visited him in his own dominions immediately before his departure to it; won his heart with schemes of grandeur; and, which was probably more effectual, presented Wolsey with the revenues of two rich bishoprics in Spain, and promised his interest in raising him to the Popedom, to which he already aspired. A war ensued between these Princes in the succeeding year, and a treaty, in which Henry assumed ineffectually the character of mediator, and his interference ended in an offensive alliance between himself, the Emperor, and the Pope, against Francis. This negotiation, by which he engaged to invade France in the following summer with forty thousand men, was concluded at Bruges by Wolsey.

Soon after the King's return, Edward Stafford, Duke of

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Buckingham, the most powerful subject in the realm, was put to death for having alluded to some remote possibility that he might succeed to the Crown. This has usually been ascribed to the resentment of Wolsey, who had a private quarrel with him, but perhaps ought more properly to be considered as the commencing article in the long catalogue of Henry's rapacities and cruelties. Little remained of the great wealth left by his father, and the attainder of Buckingham furnished a rich prize to an almost exhausted treasury. It was indeed about this period that Henry's character began to assume that deformity the records of which have tended to cast doubts on the truth of history. Unemployed for a short interval of peace, and burning for distinction where-soever it might possibly be found, he burst forth suddenly the polemic champion of that Church which he soon after found it convenient to demolish ; attacked Luther, and the new doctrines, with all the weapons of school divinity, in which he was well versed ; and presented his book to the Pope, who rewarded his apparent zeal by conferring on him the title of " Defender of the Faith." He now received a second visit from the Emperor, and renewed with him the treaty of the preceding year ; the promised invasion of France followed, and passed over in comparatively insignificant depredations near the coast in Brittany and Normandy. A war with Scotland, of the same inferior character, succeeded, and was prosecuted with indifferent success for more than a year. Henry's object in all his intercourse with that country, either as a friend or an enemy, was to detach it from its alliance with France, but his policy was not sufficiently refined to deceive that deep-sighted people in negotiation, and his purse was too weak to furnish the means of decisive warfare. It was now that he began to raise money by forced loans, and by what were called benevolences ; became perplexed and irritated by their tedious operation ; summoned a Parliament and convocation, and, finding them unwilling to grant him the supplies which he required, awed them into compliance by threatening to cut off

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the heads of those among them who most steadily opposed themselves to his will.

France, however seriously menaced, had hitherto suffered little from the efforts of her powerful enemies, when the rashness of her monarch plunged his affairs suddenly into the deepest calamity. He had determined to attempt the conquest of the Milanese; invaded Italy; and, having laid siege to Pavia, was unexpectedly attacked by the Imperialists; his army completely routed under the walls of that city, and himself taken prisoner. Henry, whose conduct in his league with Charles, and in the management of his own share of the war, had already displayed little policy, now took a step which astonished Europe. Incited by some personal slights which he had of late received from the Emperor, as well as by a jealousy of his overweening power, and perhaps yet more by a capricious generosity, he formed a treaty with the French Regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty. That Prince however soon after obtained it by an almost pardonable breach of his parole, and on the eighteenth of September, 1527, concluded at London an alliance with Henry, who took this occasion to renounce for ever all claim to the Crown of France.

While these matters passed, events not less important than surprising were silently approaching in England. The King had resolved to repudiate Catherine. On that great affair, certainly the most considerable in itself and in its consequences, and perhaps the best known and understood, in our modern history, it would be impertinent to dilate here. It may not be too bold to say, that all question on his real motives to this determination has long ceased. No one will now venture to urge on his behalf those scruples of conscience for which his earlier apologists gave him credit. Nay, we seek in vain for a single act in Henry's life which might authorize us even to suspect that he had a conscience. His incitements in this case were of the most simple and ordinary nature—an appetite too gross to be expressed in the terms which might properly denote it, and a policy

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too obvious to deserve the praise of sagacity—his inclination to the person of Anne Bullen, and his desire to become the father of an heir with unquestionable title to the crown. The Pope, Clement the seventh, naturally timid, and at that time a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor, who was nephew to Catherine, evaded all endeavours to induce him to dissolve the marriage by his own authority, but at length consented to grant a commission to Wolsey, and another cardinal chosen by himself, to try its validity. The King and Queen were cited to appear before them, and obeyed the summons. Henry of course acknowledged the authority of the court, but Catherine demurred, and, having justified herself on the spot in an unexpected address to the King, the prudent and pathetic features of which will always render it a classical ornament to our history, departed, and refused all future attendance. The Court however proceeded, though slowly, in the exercise of its functions, and the convocations of Canterbury and York decreed at length the invalidity of the marriage. Henry was in daily expectation of a definitive sentence, when the Pope suddenly adjourned the final consideration of the cause to Rome, where a favourable decision was hopeless.

The wrath excited in the King's mind by this disappointment was somewhat appeased by the sacrifice of Wolsey, whose favour had been for some time declining. Parties the most discordant joined in accelerating his fall. Catherine and her rival were equally his enemies. His favour at Rome had been impaired by his assiduity in promoting the divorce, and he had offended the English clergy by conniving at those partial spoliations of the church which formed a prelude to the reformation. He was detested by the nobility for usurping a magnificence which they could not reach. Above all, Henry had determined to renounce the authority of the Papal See, a resolution to the practice of which Wolsey's ecclesiastical and political existence could not but have been a constant impediment. He was prosecuted under an obsolete law, for the breach of which he had long since

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received a general indemnity, signed by the King ; received an ample pardon ; was again prosecuted on the same charges ; and saved himself from the axe by dying of a broken heart. Henry now attacked the whole body of his clergy, under colour of the authority of the same statute, and they purchased their pardon by the payment of a great sum ; proceeded to deprive the Church of Rome of an important part of the ancient revenue which it derived from England ; and procured a vote of Parliament, ordaining that any censures which the Pope might issue against those acts should be utterly disregarded. In the mean time the Queen dispatched an appeal to Rome on the question of the divorce, and he received a citation to answer it, which he did very effectually by almost instantly marrying Anne Bullen. The evidence which had been given, and the decree uttered by the convocations two years before, were now deemed all-sufficient, and Cranmer, the Primate, with no other authority, by a formal sentence annulled the King's marriage with Catherine, and ratified his union with Anne. The Parliament however presently after confirmed that sentence, and by a special act settled the inheritance of the Crown on the issue of Anne. The same Parliament declared the King " the only supreme head of the Church of England."

Henry, to whom all modes of faith were indifferent, had not perhaps yet contemplated the establishment in England of the new persuasion. His objects were, first, to shake off the Papal authority, and then to render the wealth of the Church subservient to his occasional necessities. The reformation was but an incidental consequence of his efforts to those ends. At this period therefore, while he shed the blood of several persons, at the head of whom were the illustrious Moore and Fisher, for asserting the Pope's supremacy, he consigned many to the stake for denying the Catholic tenets. He had already suppressed a great number of the smaller religious houses, and his Parliament had possessed him of their revenues, and was proceeding to bolder confiscations,

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when his attention was for a moment diverted to a domestic concern. Anne's charms had ceased to please, and he had given way to a new sensual partiality. His unfortunate and beautiful Queen, to whose innocence posterity has implicitly subscribed, was put to death, with several other persons, among whom was her brother, and on the same day, or, as some say, on the third day after, he married Jane Seymour, the daughter of a private gentleman. A Parliament, not less subservient than that which had settled the crown on his issue by Anne, paid him on this occasion the compliment of bastardizing his daughters by his two former Queens, and decreeing the inheritance to the fruit of this new marriage.

As the breach with the Pope widened, the certainty of a total change in the national religion became daily more manifest. The convocation, in which, those of the two persuasions were nearly equally balanced, at length promulgated, with Henry's sanction, certain articles of faith, comprising a heterogeneous mixture of the doctrines of each party, some of which evidently pointed at the downfall of the regular priesthood. The people, moved not less by the actual interest which they had in the maintenance of that body than by their own pious feelings, rose in enormous masses, which for want of leaders were presently subdued; and Henry, in defiance, proceeded without delay to the suppression of the larger monasteries, and the assumption of their extensive revenues. Still however he hesitated on the unqualified rejection of the old religion. An unaccountable caprice prompted him to become the champion of transubstantiation. He was even absurd enough to debate that question publicly in Westminster Hall, in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by the Peers spiritual and temporal, with an obscure individual, who was presently after committed to the flames for maintaining his opinion in that conference, and many others were about the same time burned also for denying the real presence. He found the system lately framed by the convocation utterly impracticable, and

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endeavoured to simplify and explain it by extorting from the Parliament that terrific act well known by the name of the Law of the Six Articles, in which the most favourite tenets of the Church of Rome were enforced by penalties of unheard of severity: at the same time he flattered the reformers by many concessions; particularly by an unqualified permission to use in their family worship the English version of the Scriptures, but this liberty was soon after confined to gentlemen and merchants. There was however no safety, amidst the various, and frequently contradictory regulations of this time, for those who professed either faith with undisguised zeal, and numbers of each were put to death, frequently with circumstances of wanton barbarity. New forms of doctrine and discipline were now contrived. A compendium of tenets was published under the title of "the Institution of a Christian Man," varying in many instances from those which had preceded them; and this again was shortly after followed by the publication of an improved scheme of orthodoxy, entitled "the Erudition of a Christian Man." These, particularly the latter, are believed to have been composed by Henry's own hand, and were certainly uttered under the express authority of the King and Parliament. Fortunately for the unhappy people who were doomed to submit to his rule, he became at length bewildered amidst the confusion which himself had created, and left the jarring elements of his reformation to be reconciled and arranged by the wiser heads, the more sincere hearts, and the cleaner hands of his successors. All activity in this great work now ceased but that of the accuser, the judge, and the executioner.

Jane Seymour had died in giving birth to a son, afterwards Edward the sixth, and Henry had been for two years a widower, when he resolved to seek a consort in the Protestant Courts of Germany. Cromwell, whom he had raised from the most abject obscurity, and whose busy and profitable agency in what may be called the financial branch of the reformation had made him a

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minister of state and a favourite, proposed to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. The connection was politically desirable, and a portrait of the Princess by Holbein had obtained the King's approbation. He espoused her, but on her arrival in England, finding her coarse, both in person and manners, conceived an unconquerable dislike to her, which he expressed to his confidants by calling her "a great Flanders mare." He completed the marriage however, and, for a while concealing from others his aversion, employed himself in devising the most convenient means by which he might dispose of her, when a new object of appetite cut short his deliberations. He became enamoured of Catherine Howard, a niece to the Duke of Norfolk, who might at this time be called his chief minister, and whose envy and hatred, concurring with the disgust which Cromwell had excited in Henry's mind by promoting his late unlucky marriage, wrought suddenly the downfall of that remarkable child of various fortunes. Cromwell was arrested by Norfolk at the Council Board, attainted of treason and heresy, and beheaded, without examination or trial; Anne was divorced without a single legal plea against her, or a tittle of evidence, and it was declared high treason to deny the dissolution of her marriage; and the perpetration of all these enormities by an English Parliament, together with the celebration of the nuptials of Henry with Catherine Howard, occupied but the space of six weeks, in the summer of the year 1540.

Catherine possessed youth, beauty, talents, and politeness, and the raptures with which Henry professed to cherish this new connection exceeded all ordinary bounds. Not contented with offering up a prayer in his own chapel in testimony of his gratitude for it, he commanded the Bishop of Lincoln to compose a regular form of public thanksgiving to the same effect. In the midst of these extravagancies, it was communicated to him by Cranmer that she had indulged, before her marriage, and perhaps after, in the most profligate libertinism, and had even chosen her

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paramours from among the servants of her grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk. He is said to have wept when he received the intelligence. The Queen, and the parties with whom she had offended, were proceeded against by attainder, and put to death. Two remarkable acts of Parliament were now passed ; the one constituting it high treason to conceal in future any knowledge, or even strong suspicion, of similar guilt in a Queen consort ; and the other, as though to reach the climax of absurd tyranny, enacting that any woman whom the King might propose to marry, having previously forfeited her honour, should also be subjected to the penalties of high treason if she did not disclose her guilt to him previously to her nuptials.

It was fortunate for Henry, amidst the difficulties, public and domestic, into which for the last ten years he had plunged himself and his people, that it should have suited the interests of neighbouring States to remain at peace with him. The Emperor, as a man his bitter enemy, was restrained by high political motives from attacking him. Francis, on the other hand, was his friend, as well from inclination as policy. Scotland had been too much distracted by factions during the long minority of his nephew, James the fifth, to become an aggressor. Henry himself at length interrupted this apparent concord. Excited by a jealousy not unreasonable of the intimate union which existed between the two latter princes, and by private resentment, not only because Francis had given in marriage to James a Princess whom he intended to have demanded for himself, but on the score of a personal slight which he had received from the King of Scots, he seized the first moment of leisure to break with both. He invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and was at first repulsed ; when James, flushed by the deceitful advantage, determined, against the sense of his nobility and commanders, to pursue his invaders into their own country ; was utterly routed at Solway Forth ; and died, as is said, of grief, on the fourteenth of December, 1542, exactly three weeks after his defeat. With

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him this short war also expired: a treaty was concluded, the principal feature of which was a stipulation for the marriage of his infant daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mary, to the young Prince of Wales, which it is almost needless to say was never fulfilled.

The articles concluded on however, especially the latter, were beheld by the Scots with disgust and dread. They saw their country falling gradually under the domination of Henry, and appealed to the old friendship of Francis, who readily engaged to assist them, in the very probable event of a renewal of warfare with England, with troops and money. This negotiation soon became known to Henry, and he lost no time in resenting it. He suddenly established a league with the Emperor, and they agreed to furnish an army, each of twenty-five thousand men, for the invasion of France, chiefly under the pretence of chastising its King for having formed an alliance with the Grand Signor. Henry now assembled his Parliament, which not only granted him ample supplies for the prosecution of this new war, but went even further than any of its compliant predecessors towards surrendering into his hands the whole legislative authority. It expressly recognized and strengthened a former law by which the King's proclamations were declared equivalent to statutes, and constituted a tribunal for facilitating the operation of such manifestations of the royal will, and for punishing those who might disobey them. The year in which he received this monstrous concession, 1543, was further rendered somewhat remarkable by an event of smaller importance; his marriage with Catherine Par, the widow already of two husbands.

The high sounding confederacy between Henry and the most powerful Prince in Europe produced no important results. Their first campaign, in which no very active part fell to the English, ended with little actual advantage to either party, and with increased credit to the military reputation of France; and the second was more distinguished by a peace, in the treaty for which

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Henry was not even named, suddenly concluded between the Emperor and Francis, than by any notable exploit in the field. It had been in fact a war of sieges, and Henry's reduction of Boulogne, which surrendered to him in person, may perhaps be considered as its most important feature. He returned, full of chagrin, to the consolation of yet further augmented power. A new Parliament, which met in the first of the two years of the war, had, in submission to his dictates, recognized the right of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to their proper places in the line of succession to the throne ; impowered him however to exclude them, should they incur his displeasure ; left unrepealed the act by which they had formerly been declared illegitimate ; and, finally, invested him expressly with the right, should he chance to be left childless, to give the Crown, by his will, or by letters patent, to whomsoever he might think fit. Not content with enacting these fearful absurdities, this Parliament not only absolved him of his obligation to repay a late loan, but actually ordained that such of the lenders as had already been reimbursed should refund into the exchequer the several sums which they had respectively received.

Before Henry passed over into France, he renewed the war with Scotland. A powerful army, which had been transported by sea to Leith, marched to Edinburgh, which they plundered, and mostly burned, and, having horribly ravaged the country to the east of that city, returned almost without loss. Another inroad, made in the autumn of the same year, 1544, was less successful. The English were chased within their own borders, leaving behind them many slain, and more prisoners ; were reinforced, and became again in their turn the assailants. At length, after a year had passed in that barbarous predatory warfare which distinguished the border contests, a treaty of peace was signed with the King of France, in which Scotland, at the instance of that Prince, was included. Henry, thus disengaged, once more recurred to ecclesiastical speculations. Some remnants of Church

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property yet remained untouched. The same Parliament from which he had of late received such surprising proofs of a blind and senseless devotion, now possessed him of the revenues of the chantries, hospitals, and free chapels, and even of those of the universities. The latter he graciously declined to accept, and hence only, with the exception of his foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, acquired the reputation of an encourager of learning, and a patron of science. So accustomed had the nation become to the expectation of his arbitrary invasions of property, and of its own practice of an implicit submission to them, that it hailed this forbearance as an emanation of the highest generosity, and acknowledged it by the most absurd and misplaced flattery.

In his renewed labours to establish an uniformity of faith, or at least worship, he was still perplexed by doubts and difficulties. The Prelates, Cranmer and Gardiner, the one a zealous protestant, and a man of pure simplicity, the other, the very crafty but determined advocate for the old religion, were alternately his advisers, and his endeavours to select truth and justice from the contrariety of their counsels, were alike destitute of piety or wisdom. He sought to soothe the irritation which he suffered from these vexations and disappointments, and from a rapid abatement of health, by new acts of persecution. Several persons were brought to the stake for denying, or rather for doubting, his favourite doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Queen herself was saved by her own wit and sagacity from falling a victim to his suspicion that she wavered on that delicate point. But a most unexpected sacrifice of another sort closely impended. Henry had secretly determined to shed the blood of his faithful and long tried minister and general, the Duke of Norfolk, and of his admirably accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey. They were suddenly arrested, and, without a single proof of guilt, indeed almost without a single specific charge, arraigned of high treason, and condemned to die. It were charity to the memory of the

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tyrant to suppose, and it is somewhat strange that a conjecture seemingly so obvious should not before have occurred, that this last superlative enormity might be ascribed to the insanity which sometimes increases the horrors of approaching death. Be this as it may, Surrey was led to the scaffold, and presently after, Henry, having on that very day, the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, signed an order for the execution of the Duke on the morrow, himself expired.